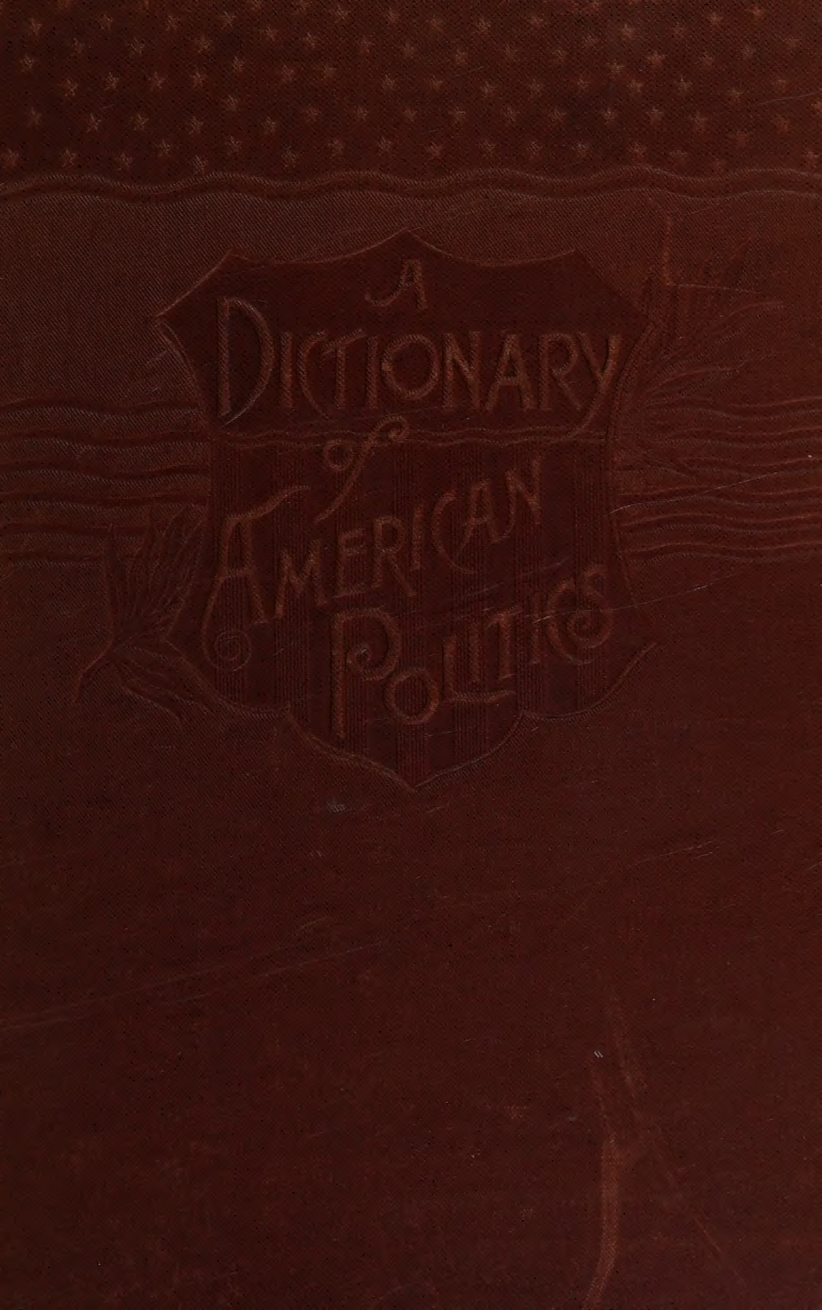
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A DICTIONARY

OF

American Politics:

COMPRISING ACCOUNTS OF

Political Parties, Measures and Men,

AND

EXPLANATIONS OF THE CONSTITUTION, DIVISIONS AND PRACTICAL WORKINGS OF THE GOVERNMENT, TOGETHER WITH POLITICAL PHRASES, FAMILIAR NAMES OF PERSONS AND PLACES, NOTEWORTHY SAYINGS, ETC., ETC.

By EVERIT BROWN,

Member of the New York Bar; Author of "The National Standard History of the United States," etc.:

AND

ALBERT STRAUSS.

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PREFACE.

A BRIEF examination of this volume will convey a clearer idea of its contents than any statement could do, yet a few words may be permitted concerning the aim of the authors.

It is for those who are more or less interested in the politics of the United States, but who have neither time nor opportunity for seeking information in various and out-of-the-way places, that this book has been prepared. The main facts in the political history of the federal government from its foundation to the present moment are given under appropriate headings and in alphabetical order. The formation of the Constitution, its growth and interpretation, have been explained. The rise and fall of parties have been recounted. Famous measures, national movements and foreign relations have received full attention. Especial care has been exercised in describing the practical workings of the government in its various branches, and numerous lists of the more prominent officials are furnished. There will also be found accounts of the origin and meaning of political slang expressions, familiar names of persons and localities, famous phrases, and the like.

Most of these facts are scattered in volumes not generally accessible; many of them that circulate chiefly by word of mouth are hard to find explained in print; some are of such recent date that they have been recorded

only in the daily press. To find these items gathered together in a single volume of moderate compass has hitherto been impossible.

Liberal use has been made of every source of information in preparing this volume. The facts have been stated with as great accuracy as could be attained by unstinted care and in the briefest manner consistent with complete information. The authors have endeavored to write without bias or partiality in any direction.

It will be noticed that cross-references have been freely used, without which much space would necessarily have been wasted, and the suggestion may be made that even in the absence of references the reader should turn to topics mentioned in the text for the full view of a subject.

With the hope that this book may help to fill an existing vacancy, it is submitted to the public.

JUNE, 1888.

DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN POLITICS.

Abolitionists.—The first society for the abolition of slavery was formed in Pennsylvania in 1774; New York followed in 1785, Rhode Island in 1786, Maryland in 1789, and Connecticut, Virginia and New Jersey before 1792. Among the presidents of the New York society were John Jay and Alexander Hamilton. These societies did nothing except to petition Congress, and were seldom heard of after 1808. Colonization then became a favorite subject, until in 1829 *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*, a newspaper advocating "immediate" abolition, was published in Baltimore by William Lloyd Garrison, of Massachusetts. Fined for one of his articles, and for non-payment of the fine imprisoned, he soon removed to Boston, where, January 1, 1831, he began the publication of *The Liberator*. He opposed colonization, refused to recognize the Constitution, which he proclaimed "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell," and declared for "no union with slave-holders." Public interest was aroused. In 1832 the "New England," and in 1833 the "American" anti-slavery societies were formed on these principles. John Greenleaf Whittier, Wendell Phillips, Benjamin Lundy and others agitated the subject and founded branches in the States, and it became a national topic. The feeling against the abolitionists ran high and riots were frequent. At Alton, Illinois, in 1837, Elijah P. Lovejoy (*see that title*), an abolition editor, was mobbed and killed, and in 1838, Pennsylvania Hall, in Philadelphia, was burned. In 1838 many of the party desiring to nominate candidates for office, a proceeding to which the "Garrisonians" objected, withdrew. The seceders, who regarded "the Federal Constitution as

essentially anti-slavery, and swore with good consciences to uphold it," formed the "American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society." It was principally of these that the Liberty party, organized in 1840, was formed. In 1848, the Liberty party, having named no candidates, the abolitionists voted with the Free Soil party, and continued with them until 1856, when they supported the Republicans. Until the war was fairly under way the "Garrisonians" were in favor of allowing the slave-holding States to withdraw peaceably, but when fighting had actually begun, they were among the most ardent supporters of the Union. (*See also Brown, John.*)

Adams and Clay Republicans.—In 1825, the Federalist party was of no influence—the Democratic-Republican was the only real party. In it there were two factions, the supporters of President John Quincy Adams and his lieutenant, Henry Clay, known as above; and the followers of Andrew Jackson, known as Jackson Republicans, or Jackson Men (*which see*). The Adams and Clay Republicans ultimately became Whigs. (*See National Republican Party.*)

Adams, Charles Francis, was born in Boston, August 18, 1807. He spent much of his boyhood abroad, his father, John Quincy Adams, being at different times United States Minister to Great Britain and to Russia. He was graduated at Harvard and adopted the profession of law. He served in both Houses of the Massachusetts Legislature and was candidate for Vice-President with Van Buren. He served as Representative in the Thirty-sixth Congress, and was re-elected to the Thirty-seventh, but was appointed Minister to Great Britain in 1861. He held that position during the Civil War, satisfactorily conducting the many delicate negotiations that arose, notably the Trent affair. He died November 21, 1886. He was a Republican.

Adams, John, was born in Braintree (now Quincy), Massachusetts, October 19, 1735; he died at the same place, July 4, 1826. Thomas Jefferson died within a few hours of him. He was graduated at Harvard College,

and was soon afterward admitted to the bar. In 1770 he was elected to the Massachusetts Legislature, and between 1774 and 1777 he served in the Continental Congress. He was a signer of the Declaration of Independence. In 1777 he went to France as Minister of the United States; he was one of the commissioners that negotiated the treaty that closed the Revolution. In 1785 he went to England as representative of our country. He returned to America in 1788, and was elected Vice-President under Washington. On Washington's retirement in 1797, he was elected President by a majority of three electoral votes over Jefferson. During his administration trouble arose with France, and war was imminent, several naval engagements actually taking place. (*See X. Y. Z. Mission.*) The alien and sedition laws passed during his administration tended to make it unpopular, while his policy toward France, which averted the war, alienated a portion of his party, and the end of his administration saw his party thoroughly divided and defeated at the polls. He was the first and only Federalist President. His party in Congress had, just before the expiration of his term, created a number of new judgeships to be filled with Federalists, and Adams, after signing their commissions until late at night of the last day of his term, withdrew from Washington early the next day without participating in Jefferson's inauguration. (*See Midnight Judges.*)

Adams, John Quincy, was born in Braintree (now Quincy), Massachusetts, July 11, 1767, and died in Washington, February 23, 1848. He was the eldest son of John Adams and a graduate of Harvard. He was admitted to the bar in 1791, and in 1794 he became Minister at The Hague. In 1803 he became a Federalist Senator. As Senator he supported the embargo, for which course the State Legislature censured him. He at once resigned and joined the Republican (Democratic-Republican) party, and by his new friends he was sent as Minister, first to Russia, and then to Great Britain. He became Secretary of State under Monroe in 1817, and in 1825 was elected to succeed him. His election

was by the House of Representatives. His election, his enemies claimed, was the result of a corrupt bargain with Henry Clay, but this charge, although frequently repeated, has always been denied, and it has never been proved. He served but one term. During his administration the anti-Masonic feeling first arose. In 1831, Adams was elected to the House of Representatives, in which he served until his death, seventeen years later. He was stricken with apoplexy in the House, and died two days thereafter. While a member of the House he was a law unto himself—no party claiming his allegiance —and he was the principal champion of free speech against the Gag Laws (*which see*).

Administration, The, Should be Conducted Behind Glass Doors.—President Cleveland used this metaphor to express his views as to the publicity that should surround the acts of public servants.

Administrations of the United States.—For the officers of the different administrations see under the heads of their respective functions, as follows: *President; Vice-President; State, Department of; Treasury Department; War Department; Justice, Department of; Post-Office Department; Navy, Department of the; Interior, Department of the.*

Agriculture, Commissioner of.—The Department of Agriculture was established by Act of May 15, 1862. Its object is to disseminate useful information about agriculture to the classes interested therein and to distribute among them seeds of rare or new plants. In February, 1889, this Bureau was made a Department, and the Commissioner of Agriculture, a Secretary and a member of the Cabinet. Norman J. Colman, who had been Commissioner from 1885, was made Secretary by President Cleveland, and held the position until the advent of the new administration, when Jeremiah M. Rusk succeeded him. The salary is the same as that of the other Cabinet officers, $8,000.

Admission of States to the Union.—The following table shows the dates on which the first thirteen States ratified the Constitution, the dates on which the

remainder were admitted to the Union and the dates on which the Southern States were re-admitted after the Civil War:

No.	STATES.	DATE OF RATIFICATION OR ADMISSION.	DATE OF RE-ADMISSION.
1	Delaware	December 7, 1787	
2	Pennsylvania	December 12, 1787	
3	New Jersey	December 18, 1787	
4	Georgia	January 2, 1788	July 15, 1870
5	Connecticut	January 9, 1788	
6	Massachusetts	February 6, 1788	
7	Maryland	April 28, 1788	
8	South Carolina	May 23, 1788	June 25, 1868
9	New Hampshire	June 21, 1788	
10	Virginia	June 26, 1788	January 26, 1870
11	New York	July 26, 1788	
12	North Carolina	November 21, 1789	June 25, 1868
13	Rhode Island	May 29, 1790	
14	Vermont	March 4, 1791	
15	Kentucky	June 1, 1792	
16	Tennessee	June 1, 1796	July 24, 1866
17	Ohio	November 29, 1802	
18	Louisiana	April 30, 1812	June 25, 1868
19	Indiana	December 11, 1816	
20	Mississippi	December 10, 1817	February 23, 1870
21	Illinois	December 3, 1818	
22	Alabama	December 14, 1819	June 25, 1868
23	Maine	March 15, 1820	
24	Missouri	August 10, 1821	
25	Arkansas	June 15, 1836	June 22, 1868
26	Michigan	January 26, 1837	
27	Florida	March 3, 1845	June 25, 1868
28	Texas	December 29, 1845	March 30, 1870
29	Iowa	December 28, 1846	
30	Wisconsin	May 29, 1848	
31	California	September 9, 1850	
32	Minnesota	May 11, 1858	
33	Oregon	February 14, 1859	
34	Kansas	January 29, 1861	
35	West Virginia	June 19, 1863	
36	Nevada	October 31, 1864	
37	Nebraska	March 1, 1867	
38	Colorado	August 1, 1876	
39	Wyoming	July 10, 1889	
40	North Dakota	November 2, 1889	
41	South Dakota	November 2, 1889	
42	Montana	November 2, 1889	
43	Washington	November 2, 1889	

Alabama was separated from Mississippi Territory (*see Territories*) in 1817, and made into Alabama Territory with the capital at St. Stephens. It was admitted to the Union on December 14, 1819. On January 11, 1861, an ordinance of secession was adopted in a State

convention and by Act of June 25, 1868, the State was readmitted to the Union. The capital is Montgomery. The population in 1880 was 1,262,505, and in the last census (1890) 1,513,017. Alabama has eight representatives in Congress and ten electoral votes. It is a Democratic State. The name is of Indian derivation, and was once supposed to mean "Here we rest," though it is now said to have no known meaning. (*See Governors; Legislatures.*)

Alabama Claims.—During the Civil War several Confederate cruisers were built in England, and some were equipped in the ports of that nation and her colonies. This was all in violation of Great Britain's avowedly neutral position, of her own statutes and of international law, and in spite of the fact that our minister to England, Charles Francis Adams, repeatedly protested and called the attention of the English government to what was being done. Moreover, while neutrality was strictly enforced against United States vessels in British ports, even to the extent of prohibiting their taking on board coal which had been deposited by our government, Confederate vessels found no difficulty, through the connivance of officials, in coaling and even arming in such ports. Chief among the cruisers which were built or equipped in England were the Florida, the Georgia, the Shenandoah and the Alabama; the last named because of her especially destructive career gave her name to the claims which arose from the depredations of all such vessels on the commerce of the United States. As a result of Great Britain's action in these matters the United States claimed damages from her for "direct losses in the capture and destruction of a large number of vessels, with their cargoes, and in the heavy national expenditures in the pursuit of the cruisers; and indirect injury in the transfer of a large part of the American commercial marine to the British flag, in the enhanced payment of insurance, in the prolongation of the war, and in the addition of a large sum to the cost of the war and the suppression of the rebellion." The dispute between the two governments stood unsettled

till after the war. In 1866 the United States offered to submit the question to arbitration, but would not agree to a proposition made by Great Britain to limit the discussion to the damage done by the cruisers, since this would be an abandonment of our position that the granting of the rights of belligerents to the Confederate States (by the Queen's proclamation of May 13, 1861) was unjustified by necessity, morals, treaties or international law. In 1871, however, England proposed a joint commission to settle various disputes which existed between the two governments; the United States consented with the proviso that the Alabama claims should be considered and disposed of by the commission; England agreed and the result was the Treaty of Washington (*which see*). By this treaty the Alabama claims were referred to arbitrators who afterward met at Geneva, Switzerland, and on September 14, 1872, awarded to the United States $15,500,000 to be paid by Great Britain in satisfaction of all the Alabama claims. This was duly paid within the year. The United States Court of Claims has jurisdiction of cases brought by those who claim a share in this indemnity. (*See Geneva Award.*)

Alabama Territory. (*See Territories.*)

Alaska was purchased from Russia in 1867 (*see Annexations VI*). It is an unorganized territory of the United States and remained without the forms of civil government till 1884, when the Act of May 17th provided for the appointment of a governor and other officers, and also a district court. Sitka is the capital. The population in 1880 was estimated at 30,178, and in the last census (1890) 30,329. (*See Governers.*)

Albany Regency.—A name applied to the combination of politicians that from 1820 to 1855 managed the Democratic party in the State of New York. The name arose from the fact that most of them lived in Albany, N. Y. Prominent among them were Martin Van Buren, Wm. L. Marcy, John A. Dix and Silas Wright. Their success was due mainly to their thorough organization.

Alexander the Coppersmith.—A nickname applied to Hamilton by those that were dissatisfied with the copper cents coined in 1793 at his suggestion as Secretary of the Treasury.

Algerine War.—(*See Barbary Pirates.*)

Alien and Sedition Laws.—During the troubles of this country with France in 1798 there was a considerable portion of the community in sympathy with France, and attacks of the most scurrilous nature were continually made against the President and Congress. This state of things was the occasion for the passage of the above-named bills. The first Alien bill lengthened the period of residence for the purpose of naturalization to fourteeen years. All aliens thereafter to come into the country were to be registered, and the certificate of registration was to be the only proof of residence. Alien enemies could never become citizens. A third bill gave the President power in case of war with a foreign nation or danger of invasion by it, to seize or expel all resident alien citizens of that nation. Another bill, signed by the President June 25th, gave him power to send away any alien whom he might think dangerous to the country; if after being ordered away he were found here he might be imprisoned for three years and could never become a citizen; aliens so imprisoned could be removed from the country by the President's order, and on voluntarily returning be imprisoned at the President's discretion; the act provided for various details concerning the carrying out of its intention, and gave the United States courts cognizance of cases arising thereunder. The action of the law was limited to two years. The Sedition bill was passed in July and declared any one that in any way hindered any officer of the United States in the discharge of his duty, or opposed any of its laws, to be guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor, punishable by a maximum fine of five thousand dollars and maximum imprisonment of five years; further, writing, printing or publishing any false, scandalous and malicious writing against Congress or the President or aiding therein, was made punishable by a

maximum fine of two thousand dollars and maximum imprisonment of two years; but the truth of the matter, if proved, was to be a good defense. This act was to expire March, 1801. The opposition aroused by these bills was enormous, and though the prosecutions under them were very few, they made Adams' administration and the Federal party very unpopular. Hamilton had in vain tried to prevent the party from committing this blunder.

Allegiance.—Every citizen of the United States owes paramount allegiance to the national government. The opinion that he owed allegiance to his State first and to the Union only secondarily, which was bound up in the doctrine of state sovereignty, may be considered as finally negatived by the results of the Civil War. As to foreign states, no one can become a citizen of the United States by naturalization without first renouncing all allegiance to his former governmeut. (*See Expatriation; Naturalization.*)

All Men are Created Equal.—The second paragraph of the Declaration of Independence begins: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal," etc. (*see Declaration of Independence*). This phrase, either as given above or slightly different, was used in the Declarations of Right contained in many of the State constitutions adopted about 1776. It is sometimes quoted, "All men are born free and equal." That form was used in the constitution adopted by Massachusetts in 1780.

All Quiet Along the Potomac.—This phrase became proverbial during the fall of 1861 and the beginning of 1862. The weather at that time seemed favorable to a campaign, and McClellan's army of about two hundred thousand men was in excellent condition, and yet no advance was undertaken. McClellan's policy, at that period, is sometimes referred to as a policy of "masterly inactivity."

All We Ask is to Be Let Alone.—This phrase occurred in the message of Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress in March, 1861. He referred to Northern preparations to oppose secession.

Amendment-Mongers.—A name applied to the Anti-Federalists.

Amendments to the Constitution.—Article 5 of the Constitution prescribes the means to be employed in amending that instrument. By the same article the Constitution was made unamendable prior to 1808 on certain points, as follows: So as to prohibit immigration as existing in 1787, or so as to permit the levying of capitation or other direct taxes by Congress except in proportion to the census. The only point remaining to-day which is incapable of amendment is that "no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate." In the manner prescribed in Article 5, fifteen amendments in all have been adopted from time to time. The first Congress, on September 25, 1789, passed twelve amendments, two of which were not ratified. The remaining ten, having been ratified by all the States except Massachusetts, Connecticut and Georgia, were proclaimed in force December 15, 1791. The first six of these comprise what is sometimes known as our Bill of Rights. The eleventh amendment was passed by Congress March 5, 1794, was duly ratified, and was proclaimed in force January 8, 1798. It provided that the federal courts should not entertain suits brought against a State by individuals. The presidential election of 1800 which was thrown into the House (*see Disputed Presidential and Vice-Presidential Elections*), disclosed some defects in the electoral system as established by Article 2, section 1, clause 3 of the Constitution. To remedy these defects the twelfth amendment was passed by Congress December 12, 1803, and declared in force September 25, 1804. It had failed to pass in one Congress and was only carried finally in the House by the Speaker's vote. The vote of the States also was only just sufficient, thirteen ratifying and four—New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Delaware —rejecting it. For sixty years the Constitution remained unaltered, but the condition of things brought about by the Civil War rendered three more amendments necessary. The thirteenth amendment was pro-

posed for the purpose of making emancipation universal in the nation and prohibiting slavery for the future. It passed the Senate in April, 1864, by a vote of thirty-eight to six, but failed to pass the House. The House reconsidered its vote at the next session and passed the amendment by a vote of one hundred and nineteen to fifty-six; it was proposed to the legislatures of the States February 1, 1865. It was declared in force December 18, 1865, having been ratified by twenty-seven States out of thirty-six; it was subsequently ratified by four more. Only two states, Delaware and Kentucky, absolutely rejected it. Texas took no action in regard to it and Alabama and Mississippi ratified it conditionally. The fourteenth amendment was intended to aid the work of *Reconstruction*. It passed Congress in June, 1866, by a vote of thirty-three to eleven in the Senate and one hundred and thirty-eight to thirty-six in the House. It was ratified by thirty out of the thirty-seven States and was proclaimed in force July 28, 1868. Three others subsequently ratified it. Delaware, Maryland and Kentucky rejected it and California failed to act. All the once Confederate States, except Tennessee, rejected it but afterward ratified it in consequence of an act of Congress providing as one condition of their re-admission as States that they should do so. New Jersey and Ohio rescinded their first ratifications, but Congress declared that this did not affect their previous action, and in the end there were enough ratifications without these. The fifteenth amendment was designed to supplement the previous one in relation to the suffrage of negro citizens and make their right to vote unquestionable. It passed Congress February 26, 1869, by a vote of thirty-nine to thirteen in the Senate and one hundred and forty-four to forty-four in the House. It was ratified by twenty-nine of the thirty-seven States and proclaimed in force March 30, 1870; Georgia at first rejected, but afterward ratified it. New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, California and Oregon rejected it, and Tennessee took no action. Ohio, which had at first rejected it, afterward ratified it, and New

York rescinded her ratification. Among proposed amendments to the Constitution which have never been adopted may be mentioned a few of the most important. Jefferson suggested an amendment to assure the constitutionality of the Louisiana purchase, but his bargain was universally accepted as valid without such amendment. The same President, and after him Madison, Monroe, Jackson and Polk, urged an amendment authorizing Congress to vote money for internal improvements, the power to do which, not being mentioned in the Constitution, they considered open to question. This right, however, has come to be admitted without an amendment. Just previous to the war various amendments dealing with the question of slavery were proposed. (*See Crittenden Compromise.*) Amendments have also been urged, some extending the right of suffrage to females and one inserting in the preamble to the Constitution the following words: "Acknowledging Almighty God as the source of all authority and power in civil government, the Lord Jesus Christ as the ruler among the nations, and His will, revealed in the Holy Scriptures, as of supreme authority, in order to constitute a Christian government." For the text of the amendments that have been adopted see *Constitution of the United States.*

America for Americans.—One of the cries of the American party.

American Cato.—Samuel Adams was so called from supposed resemblance of his character to that of the Roman. Adams was born in Boston 1722 and died in 1802. He was a signer of the Declaration of Independence.

American Fabius.—A name applied to Washington because his generalship during the Revolution resembled that of Fabius, a commander of ancient Rome, who, having troops inferior to the enemy in discipline and equipment, pursued a policy of avoiding pitched battles, of wearying the enemy by long marches and of harassing him at every opportunity.

American Knights.—An organization known as

the Knights of the Golden Circle had existed at the South before the Civil War. It was composed of men opposed to the North and anxious for separation. About 1862 this organization took root in the West, its principal object being to hinder the draft of soldiers. It was variously known as Mutual Protection Society, as Circle of Honor, as the Circle, and as Knights of the Mighty Host. The exposure of some of its signs and secrets led the Confederate General Sterling Price to organize in Missouri a new society known as the Corps de Belgique, in honor of the Belgian consul at St. Louis, Charles L. Hunt, who was Price's principal assistant. This organization finally became part of the Order of American Knights, organized by C. L. Vallandingham, of Ohio, and P. C. Wright, of New York. The object of this society was to resist the draft and to encourage desertion among Union soldiers, to aid the Confederates by giving them information and by recruiting for their ranks, and to establish a Northwestern Confederacy. Some of the secrets of the order having been learned by the Federal authorities, it was reorganized in 1864; its new name was Order of the Sons of Liberty, or Knights of the Order of the Sons of Liberty. Its organization was of a military nature; in 1864 the number of its members was estimated at from 350,000 to 800,000, among whom, it is said, was Jefferson Davis; among its Supreme Commanders were Wright and Vallandingham. H. H. Dodd, one of its highest officers, was arrested for conspiracy against the government, but he ultimately escaped punishment. Locally the order was known by different names; in Illinois branches were known as Illini, Peace Organization, Democratic Invincible Club; in Kentucky, as Star Organization, Democratic Reading-room; in Missouri, as American Organization; in New York, as McClellan Minute Men. With the war, of course, its reason for being came to an end.

American Organization. (*See American Knights.*)

American Party.—I. From the beginning of the government, movements against aliens have been common. In New York City, a center of foreign population,

this subject had, from time to time, been agitated, and after a period of success in 1844, it had again sunk out of view. About 1852, when the Whig party was breaking asunder, a secret, oath-bound organization, said to have been called "The Sons of '76," or "The Order of the Star-Spangled Banner," was formed. Those of its members that had not been admitted to the higher degrees were kept in ignorance of the aims and name of the organization, and their constant answer of "I don't know" to questions regarding the society gave them the title of "Know-Nothings." All meetings of the party were secret. It carefully avoided the subject of slavery, and attempted to draw the voters that were tired of agitation on that subject, by confining itself to vigorous opposition to Catholics and aliens. Its principle was "Americans must rule America." The first national convention of the party met in February, 1856. The day previous a secret convention of the order had adopted sixteen resolutions abolishing much of the secrecy, demanding the lengthening of the residence necessary to naturalization and condemning Pierce's administration for "reopening sectional agitation by the repeal of the Missouri compromise." The refusal to consider a resolution regarding the restriction of slavery led to the withdrawal of about fifty "Anti-Nebraska" or "North" American delegates. Millard Fillmore, of New York, was then nominated for President and Andrew Jackson Donelson for Vice-President. These nominations were endorsed by a Whig convention in September. Fillmore carried but one State, Maryland, while his total popular vote was about 850,000. In 1860 Presidential candidates were again nominated, but under another party name. (*See Constitutional Union Party.*) After Fillmore's defeat, the party in 1857 carried the State elections in Rhode Island and Maryland, and in 1859 it was still represented by a few members in Congress. The party never had any foothold in the West, its strength lying in the Middle and Southern States. (*See Anti-Masonic Parties.*)

II. The second party of this name was founded on

opposition to secret societies, unlike the first, which had itself been such a society. The name was adopted by the members of the National Christian Association when that body began to mingle in politics Its platform demanded prohibition of the sale of liquor, recognition of the Sabbath, the withdrawal of the charters of secret societies and legislative prohibition of their oaths, arbitration of international disputes, the introduction of the Bible into schools, the restriction of land monopolies, resumption of specie payments, justice to the Indians and a direct popular vote for President and Vice-President. The origin of the party is as follows: The meeting in 1872 in Oberlin, Ohio, of the National Christian Association was adjourned in order to allow a political mass meeting in sympathy with its views to be held. This meeting nominated Charles Francis Adams for President. This organization for political purposes was completed at a convention in Syracuse, New York, in 1874, and the name American party was adopted. A convention at Pittsburgh, June 9, 1875, adopted a platform of the principles above set forth and nominated James B. Walker, of Illinois, for President. In 1880 nominations were again made; in 1884 the nominee, S. C. Pomeroy, withdrew in favor of St. John, the Prohibition candidate, on his assurance that he "stood on every plank of the American platform." The party is inclined to endorse the Prohibition candidates if these are satisfactory, on the score of the secret society plank.

III. This party was organized by a convention held in Philadelphia September 16–17, 1887. Its platform declares the "present system of immigration and naturalization of foreigners . . . detrimental to the welfare of the United States;" it demands its restriction and regulation so as to make fourteen years' residence a prerequisite of naturalization, and excludes from the benefits of citizenship all anarchists, socialists and other dangerous characters; it demands free schools; condemns alien proprietorship in the soil and grants of land to corporations; demands the establishment of a navy and the construction of fortifications and a judi-

cious system of internal improvements; it reasserts the "American principles of absolute freedom of religious worship and belief," and "the permanent separation of Church and State," and declares in favor of the enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine. The completion of the organization of the party is going forward rapidly.

American System.—In the debates which resulted in the tariff law of 1824, Henry Clay called his plan of protective duties and internal improvements the "American system." The term is usually restricted, however, to denote the policy of protection to home industries by means of duties on imports. (*See Tariffs of the United States.*)

American Whigs.—In England, before the American Revolution and after it, too, the Whigs were the party that struggled against the extension of the royal prerogative; the Tories upheld it. So it naturally followed that Americans opposing the oppression of Great Britain likewise took the name of Whigs. They were known as American Whigs. The name was first used in New York in 1768. The name Tory was by contrast employed to designate partisans of Great Britain. After the revolution there was thus but one party, the Whigs. The estates of some of the Tories had been confiscated, others had left the country and those that remained were left without a cause. The Whigs soon broke up into factions, the Strong-Government Whigs and the Particularists, and these respectively gave rise to the Federalists and Republicans.

Americans Must Rule America.—One of the mottoes of the "Know-Nothings."

Americans, The, Must Light the Lamps of Industry and Economy.—This occurs in a letter of Benjamin Franklin to Charles Thomson, Secretary of Congress for fifteen years. It was written by him in 1765 from London immediately after the passage of the Stamp Act. He was at that time the London agent of Pennsylvania.

Ames, Fisher, was born in Dedham, Massachusetts, April 9, 1758, and died July 4, 1808. He was a lawyer,

graduating at Harvard. In politics a Federalist, he served in the House of Representatives from 1789 to 1797, where he held foremost rank as an orator, his best known speech being the one in favor of Jay's treaty.

Amistad Case, The.—In June, 1839, the schooner L'Amistad sailed from Havana for Principe with a number of slaves that had been kidnaped in Africa. The slaves overpowered the whites, and killed all but two. These white men steered the vessel northward instead of to Africa as directed, and soon the vessel was seized and taken into New London, Conn., by Lieutenant Gedney of the United States brig Washington. The Spanish Minister requested the delivery of the slaves to be taken to Cuba for trial. President Van Buren was desirous of granting this request as a matter of comity, but the Anti-Slavery Society procured counsel, and the District Court of the United States decided that even by the Spanish laws the slave trade was illegal, and the negroes were free men. The Circuit Court affirmed this decision, and so, in March, 1841, did the Supreme Court, where John Quincy Adams devoted himself to the cause of the negroes without remuneration. The negroes were sent back to Africa in an American vessel.

Amnesty, Proclamation of. (*See Proclamation of Amnesty.*)

Anarchy Poles.—A derisive name for *Liberty Poles.*

Ancient Mariner of the Wabash.—A name applied to Richard W. Thompson, of Indiana, who was Secretary of the Navy under President Hayes.

Annapolis Academy. (*See United States Naval Academy.*)

Annexations.—The territory of the United States at the commencement of our existence as a nation comprised all our present territory between the Atlantic on the east, the Mississippi on the west, British America on the north and the thirty-first degree of north latitude on the south, with a few slight differences owing to subsequent re-arrangements of boundary lines. There have since been six different additions made to our territory, which have brought it to its present extent.

I. LOUISIANA.—Before the year 1763, France owned what was known as the Province of Louisiana, a vast region which comprised, east of the Mississippi, the territory south of the thirty-first degree of north latitude and as far east as the Perdido River, and, west of the Mississippi, the whole of the present Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Nebraska, Dakota, Montana, Idaho, Oregon and Washington, that part of Minnesota west of the Mississippi, Wyoming and Colorado east of the Rocky Mountains and north of the Arkansas River, and all but a small southwestern section of Kansas and the narrow northwestern strip of Indian Territory. By the Treaty of Paris of 1763, which closed our French and Indian War, the French territory east of the Mississippi passed to England, and that west of the Mississippi to Spain. By the Treaty of Paris of 1783, which ended the Revolution, England gave Florida back to Spain. During the first years of our national history, therefore, Spain owned the western shore of the Mississippi and both shores at its mouth. It was soon seen that our citizens who were settling along the Mississippi would have their commerce threatened and hampered by Spain, especially as that country at first refused us the free navigation of the river. It was not until 1795 that a treaty was negotiated by Thomas Pinckney, whereby Spain granted us free navigation of the river and the right to use New Orleans, or some other place which would be provided, as a place of deposit for merchandise. In 1800 a secret treaty was negotiated between France and Spain by which the latter "retroceded" to France the Province of Louisiana. Napoleon, then First Consul of France, threatened to send an army and fleet to New Orleans. It was feared that French ambition in Louisiana and Spanish designs in Florida would ultimately prove hurtful to us. In 1802 the right of deposit in New Orleans was taken away, and no other place was designated. The western portion of the United States clamored for some governmental action. Congress appropriated $2,000,000 for the purchase of New Orleans, and President Jefferson,

in January, 1803, sent James Monroe as minister extraordinary with discretionary powers, to act with our Minister to France, Robert R. Livingston, in the purchase. Napoleon at this time found himself burdened with debt and threatened with an English war, and proposed to sell the whole Province of Louisiana. A convention to that effect was speedily arranged and signed on April 30, 1803, by Livingston and Monroe for the United States, and Barbé-Marbois for France. The price agreed upon to be paid was $15,000,000, of which $3,750,000 were claims of our citizens against France, which the United States agreed to assume. The people of the United States as a whole rejoiced, though the Federalists claimed that the measure was unwarranted by the Constitution, and even Jefferson thought a constitutional amendment would be necessary. The purchase, however, was finally accepted without an amendment, and was generally acquiesced in. An early session of Congress was called for October 17, 1803. Two days later the treaty was ratified by the Senate, and on October 25th the House passed a resolution to carry it into effect by a vote of ninety to twenty-five, the Federalists voting in the minority. Napoleon accepted six per cent. bonds, payable in fifteen years, for this territory, which more than doubled the area of the United States. Concerning this purchase Livingston is said to have exclaimed: "We have lived long, but this is the noblest work of our whole lives." And Napoleon is said to have remarked: "I have just given to England a maritime rival that will, sooner or later, humble her pride." Portions of the boundary line of this purchased territory were in dispute for a long time, but so far as Spain was concerned, the differences of opinion were settled by the treaty of 1819 (*see next section of this article*), and the treaty of 1846 with Great Britain settled the remainder. (*See Northwest Boundary.*) The region acquired by this purchase was divided into the Territory of Orleans and the Territory of Louisiana.

II. FLORIDA.—When Great Britain in 1763 acquired that part of Louisiana east of the Mississippi from

France, and Florida from Spain (*see preceding section of this article*), she joined her portion of Louisiana to Florida and divided by the Apalachicola River West from East Florida. Both of these passed to Spain in 1783. Spain claimed that when, in 1800, she "retroceded" Louisiana to France, she only gave back what she had obtained from that country, and that West Florida, which she obtained from England, still remained hers. The United States maintained that Spain had given to France the whole original extent of Louisiana, and that Florida west of the Perdids was a part of our purchase from France in 1803. Our government did not press this claim till 1810, but then, under direction of the President, Governor Claiborne, of the Territory of Orleans, took possession of all West Florida except Mobile, and in 1813 General Wilkinson obtained possession of Mobile also. There was a growing desire in the United States to seize East Florida. Congress as early as 1811 passed secret acts authorizing the President to take "temporary possession" of it, though nothing came of this. In 1814 and 1818 Jackson made raids into the coveted territory (*see Indian Wars*), which seemed to show to Spain the danger her territory was in. She did not think it worth defending, and on February 22, 1819, the Spanish Minister at Washington signed a treaty by which Florida was ceded to the United States. Our government in return assumed claims of its citizens against Spain to the amount of $5,000,000, and accepted the Sabine River as the eastern boundary of Mexico. By the same treaty Spain accepted the forty-second degree of north latitude as the northern limit to her claims of territory west of the Rocky Mountains. The United States Senate at once ratified this treaty, but Spain delayed till early in 1821, and in July of that year possession was surrendered.

III. TEXAS.—Previous to 1819 the United States had claimed as part of the Louisiana purchase the region known as Texas as far as the Rio Grande River, but by the Spanish treaty of that year yielded its claim. Soon afterward, inhabitants of the United States began to

remove to Texas, where they obtained grants of land and settled. It thus grew into a State which was closely allied to the United States. This emigration to Texas and the subsequent annexation were part of the political scheme of the South to maintain its power in Congress by the addition of slave-territory, to offset the creation of free States in the North. In 1827 and 1829, Clay and Calhoun, as Secretaries of State, tried to obtain Texas by purchase, offering $1,000,000 and $5,000,000, but without success. In March, 1836, Texas, dissatisfied with the government of Mexico, declared its independence. A short war followed. The Mexicans committed massacres at Goliad and the Alamo (*see Thermopylæ of Texas*), but on April 10th, at the San Jacinto, Santa Anna, the Mexican President, with 5,000 men, was badly defeated by 700 men under General Sam. Houston, the commander of the Texan forces. Santa Anna agreed to a treaty which recognized the independence of Texas. This was not ratified by Mexico, but in March, 1837, the United States recognized the independence of the Republic of Texas, and soon England, France and Belgium did likewise. In 1837 Texas made application to Congress for annexation, but with no immediate result. The presidential campaign of 1844 turned largely on this question. The Democratic convention nominated Polk, who favored annexation, instead of Van Buren, who opposed it. Clay, the Whig candidate, was also supposed to be against the project. In the meantime, Calhoun, Secretary of State, had negotiated a treaty of annexation with Texas in April, 1844, including the territory between the Nueces and Rio Grande Rivers, disputes as to which finally led to the Mexican War (*which see*). This treaty failed of ratification at the hands of the Senate. Polk was elected, partly by reason of the votes thrown away on Birney (*see Liberty Party*), but his election was taken as a sign of popular approval of annexation, and Congress and Tyler's administration now became attached to the project. Early in 1845 Congress authorized the President to negotiate a treaty

of annexation. Tyler hastened to accomplish the object, though without a treaty, and on the last day of his term sent a special messenger to Texas. This emissary on June 18th secured the consent of the Congress of Texas, which was ratified by a popular vote on July 4th. A resolution for the admission of Texas as a State was passed in the House of Representatives by a vote of one hundred and forty-one to fifth-six on December 16, 1845, and in the Senate by a vote of thirty-one to thirteen on December 22d, and Texas was declared a State of the Union on December 29, 1845.

IV. New Mexico and Upper California.—The name New Mexico was originally applied to the territory now known as Utah, Nevada and large portions of Arizona, Colorado and New Mexico. Upper California comprised what is now the State of California. These regions, which belonged to Mexico, were conquered during the Mexican War, and by the treaty of 1848, which ended that contest, passed to the United States. (*See Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.*) Our government paid to Mexico for this cession $15,000,000, and assumed debts due from Mexico to our citizens amounting to $3,250,000. A portion of this acquisition (that part of New Mexico east of the Rio Grande) was claimed by Texas, and one of the provisions of Henry Clay's Omnibus Bill, passed in 1850, provided for the payment of $10,000,000 to Texas in satisfaction of her claim.

V. Gadsden Purchase.—Disputes still remained with reference to those portions of Arizona and New Mexico south of the Gila River, and Mexican troops were sent thither. Trouble was averted, however, by the Gadsden Treaty, December 30, 1853, so called because it was negotiated by our Minister to Mexico, General James Gadsden. By this treaty the United States obtained the disputed territory, for which we paid $10,000,000.

VI. Alaska.—By a treaty of March 30, 1867, ratified by the Senate June 20th of the same year, Russia ceded to the United States what is now the Territory of Alaska. The price paid was $7,200,000. The following

table shows the original area of the United States and the areas of the various annexed regions:

	SQUARE MILES.
United States in 1783	827,844
Louisiana (1803)	1,171,931
Florida (1819)	59,268
Texas (1845)	376,133
Mexican Cession (1848)	545,783
Gadsden Purchase (1853)	45,535
Alaska (1867)	577,390
Present area	3,603,884

Subsequent measurements and changes in boundaries have somewhat changed these figures. (*See Area of the United States.*) For propositions concerning the annexation of Cuba and Santo Domingo, *see Cuba, Annexation of; Santo Domingo, Annexation of.* (*See also Territories.*)

Annual Message of the President to Congress. (*See President's Message.*)

Another County Heard From.—During the excitement incident to the Presidential campaign of 1876, this phrase gained currency. The returns were very slowly received from some of the doubtful States, especially in Florida, and each addition to the uncompleted vote was hailed as above.

Anti-Federal Junto.—When it was proposed in the Pennsylvania Legislature to issue a call for a convention to ratify the United States Constitution, nineteen of the members withdrew, leaving the House without a quorum. Enough of these were, however, dragged to the House to allow business to be transacted. September, 1787, sixteen of these same members signed an address against the Constitution; this address contained so many misstatements that it soon became an object of ridicule. To the signers and their followers the name of Anti-Federal Junto was given.

Anti-Federalists.—Those that were in favor of the adoption of the Constitution when that instrument was before the people for ratification were called Federalists; those opposed, Anti-Federalists. The objections of these latter may be stated as follows: It was feared

that contests between the States and the Federal government would follow, with the result either that the Union would go down or that the central government would usurp the sovereign powers of the States; further objections were that it contained no bill of rights, no safeguards of liberty, but was just such an instrument as ambitious men would desire for the purpose of furthering their plans. The party was composed principally of local politicians who were jealous of enlarged political relations and of farmers who were fearful of additional taxes. In two States their efforts were of avail, in Rhode Island and North Carolina. In Pennsylvania they offered considerable opposition but were overborne. (*See Anti-Federal Junto.*) In New York a deadlock between them and the Federalists was the cause of that State's failure to choose electors for the first President. After the adoption of the Constitution the same fears that had made them oppose it, now made them insist on strict construction of its provisions. In Congress they opposed Hamilton's financial measures, but they were without organization, and the issue that had called them into life being dead, the party had little existence except in name. By the year 1793 it had become a part of the Republican party.

Anti-Ku-Klux Act. (*See Ku-Klux Act.*)

Anti-Lecompton Democrats.—A name applied to those Northern Democrats, among them Stephen A. Douglas, that opposed the admission of Kansas under the *Lecompton Constitution* (*which see*).

Anti-Masonic Party.—In 1826 William Morgan of Batavia, Genesee County, New York, who had declared his intention of publishing a book containing the secrets of the Society of the Free Masons, was arrested for debt. On his release he was at once hurried to a close carriage and taken to Niagara; he was never again heard from. Some time afterward a body, asserted by some to be his, was found in the river below the falls. The affair created enormous excitement and raised insuperable prejudices against all Free Masons in a large part of the community; the prejudice was carried even into politics

and many citizens refused to vote for Masons, men, as they declared, who considered the edicts of their fraternity as above the laws of the country. This feeling led the National Republican party in New York to name a State ticket containing no Masons, but an Anti-Mason convention was, notwithstanding, held, and a ticket pledged to oppose Free Masonry was nominated. The vote polled by the Anti-Masons was comparatively small, but the party increased so rapidly that by 1830 it was, in New York, the great opponent of the Democrats, whose head, Andrew Jackson, was a Mason. In 1831 the party held a national convention and nominated William Wirt of Maryland and Amos Ellmaker of Pennsylvania. This ticket received the electoral vote of only Vermont. The party was swallowed up in the Whig party, of which it remained a powerful faction. It maintained a separate existence only in Pennsylvania where in 1835 its nominee for governor was elected. (*See American Party II.*)

Anti-Monopoly Party.—The Anti-Monopoly Organization of the United States met at Chicago May 14, 1884, and nominated Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts for the Presidency. It adopted a platform demanding economical government and the enactment and enforcement of equitable laws, including an Inter-State Commerce Law (one has since been enacted), establishing Labor Bureaus, providing Industrial Arbitration, a direct vote for Senators, a graduated income tax, payment of the national debt as it matures, and "fostering care" for agriculture; while it denounced the tariff and the grant of land to corporations. Their nominee was also selected by the Greenback Labor party, the joint ticket being known as the People's party. It polled 130,000 votes.

Anti-Nebraska Men.—A name applied to the Northern Whigs that opposed the Kansas-Nebraska Bill in 1854. These were joined by Democrats of similar views, and together they controlled the House in the Thirty-fourth Congress. The Republican party sprang from them.

Anti-Prohibitionists are those who oppose the adoption of laws prohibiting the sale of liquor for a beverage.

Anti-Renters, The.—Portions of the land in Albany, Rensselaer, Columbia, Greene, Delaware, Schoharie and Otsego counties in New York State were originally part of large estates belonging to the old Dutch patroons, as they were called. The tenants held the farms by perpetual leases on rents payable in produce. These estates were owned by several of the old families of the State, the Livingstons, the Van Rensselaers, and others. The tenants had long been dissatisfied with this arrangement, and the death, in 1839, of Stephen Van Rensselaer brought matters to a head. Stephen Van Rensselaer had allowed the rents to fall largely in arrears; his son now attempted to collect these rents and was met by organized opposition. Men disguised as Indians terrorized the region. Attempts of the sheriff to collect the rents were likewise unsuccessful; the militia that accompanied him was largely outnumbered and the attempt failed. This was known as the "Helderberg War." For a time the "Anti-Renters" were a political factor in the State, holding the balance of power and using it to serve their own ends. In 1850 the difficulty was compromised, the owners of the manors selling the land to the tenants.

Anti-Slavery. (*See Abolitionists.*)

Anti-War Democrats.—The Democratic National Convention met August 29, 1864, and among other resolutions censuring the war acts of the government, a resolution was passed declaring it to be "the sense of the American people that after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war . . . immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to an ultimate convention of the States . . . to the end that . . . peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal union of the States." Such Democrats as favored these views were known as "Anti-War Democrats." The same term was applied to those members of the early Democratic party that opposed the

war of 1812. They sided on this point with the Federalists against the majority of their own party. Those who opposed the war and wished for peace at any price were called "submission men."

Articles of Confederation.—On June 11, 1776, the Colonial Congress, assembled in Philadelphia, resolved to appoint a committee, consisting of one member from each colony, to prepare a form of confederation to be entered into between the colonies. The committee reported, a few changes were made in the wording of the document that they submitted, and on November 15, 1777, it was agreed to by Congress. It was submitted to the States for ratification, and it was provided that it should be conclusive when signed by the delegates of all the States, as these should authorize the ratification. On the 9th of July, 1778, it was signed on behalf of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence plantations, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and South Carolina. It was signed for North Carolina on July 21st, for Georgia on July 24th, and for New Jersey on November 26th. One delegate of Delaware signed on Feburary 12, 1779, and the other two on May 5th. On March 1, 1781, the delegates of Maryland signed, and on the next day, March 2, 1781, Congress assembled under its new powers. By this instrument, known as the "Articles of Confederation," the United States were governed before the adoption of the Constitution. While these articles gave to Congress power to perform many of the acts of a sovereign government, they gave to it no power to enforce its own commands, and as a consequence it was impossible in spite of strenuous efforts to raise revenue. The debt, principal and interest, fell into arrears, the soldiers of the Revolution remained unpaid and Congress could not even induce the States to give it power to retaliate on nations bent on ruining our trade. The attendance of members in Congress grew smaller and smaller, and it required an especial appeal to have the quorum necessary for the ratification of the treaty of peace with Great Britain. July 14, 1788, the ratifi-

cation by nine States of the present Constitution (prepared by the Convention of 1787) was announced by Congress. After January, 1789, the attendance of a few members, who met and adjourned from day to day, gave a nominal existence to Congress, and on March 2, two days before the time fixed for the beginning of the new government, even this pretence of existence was dropped and the old Congress was dead. The following is the text of these articles:

ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION AND PERPETUAL UNION

Between the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia.

ARTICLE I. The style of this confederacy shall be, "THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA."

ARTICLE II. Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power, jurisdiction and right, which is not, by this confederation, expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled.

ARTICLE III. The said States hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other, for their common defense, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare; binding themselves to assist each other against all force offered to, or attacks made upon them, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretense whatever.

ARTICLE IV. The better to secure and perpetuate mutual friendship and intercourse among the people of the different States in this Union, the free inhabitants of each of these States, paupers, vagabonds and fugitives from justice excepted, shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several States; and the people of each State shall have free ingress and egress to and from any other State, and shall enjoy therein all the privileges of trade and commerce, subject to the same duties, impositions and restrictions as the inhabitants thereof respectively; provided, that such restrictions shall not extend so far as to prevent the removal of property imported into any State to any other State of which the owner is an inhabitant; provided, also, that no imposition, duties or restriction shall be laid by any State on the property of the United States, or either of them.

If any person guilty of, or charged with treason, felony or other high misdemeanor in any State, shall flee from justice, and be found in any of the United States, he shall, upon demand of the governor or executive power of the State from

which he fled, be delivered up and removed to the State having jurisdiction of his offense.

Full faith and credit shall be given in each of these States to the records, acts and judicial proceedings, of the courts and magistrates of every other State.

ARTICLE V. For the more convenient management of the general interests of the United States, delegates shall be annually appointed in such manner as the Legislature of each State shall direct, to meet in Congress on the first Monday in November, in every year, with a power reserved to each State to recall its delegates, or any of them, at any time within the year, and send others in their stead for the remainder of the year.

No State shall be represented in Congress by less than two, nor by more than seven members, and no person shall be capable of being a delegate for more than three years in any term of six years, nor shall any person, being a delegate, be capable of holding any office under the United States for which he, or another for his benefit, receives any salary, fees or emolument of any kind.

Each State shall maintain its own delegates in a meeting of the States, and while they act as members of the committee of the States.

In determining questions in the United States in Congress assembled, each State shall have one vote.

Freedom of speech and debate in Congress shall not be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Congress; and the members of Congress shall be protected in their persons from arrest and imprisonment during the time of their going to and from, and attendance on Congress, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace.

ARTICLE VI. No State, without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, shall send any embassy to, or receive any embassy from, or enter into any conference, agreement, alliance or treaty with any king, prince or State; nor shall any person holding any office of profit or trust under the United States, or any of them, accept of any present, emolument, office or title of any kind whatever, from any king, prince or foreign State; nor shall the United States in Congress assembled, or any of them, grant any title of nobility.

No two or more States shall enter into any treaty, confederation or alliance whatever, between them, without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, specifying accurately the purposes for which the same is to be entered into, and how long it shall continue.

No State shall lay any imposts or duties which may interfere with any stipulations in treaties entered into by the United States in Congress assembled, with any king, prince or State, in pursuance of any treaties already proposed by Congress to the courts of France and Spain.

No vessels of war shall be kept up in time of peace by any State, except such number only as shall be deemed necessary by the United States in Congress assembled, for the defense of such State or its trade; nor shall any body of forces be kept up by any State, in time of peace, except such number only as in the judgment of the United States in Congress assembled,

shall be deemed requisite to garrison the forts necessary for the defense of such State; but every State shall always keep up a well-regulated and disciplined militia, sufficiently armed and accoutered, and shall provide and constantly have ready for use, in public stores, a due number of field-pieces and tents, and a proper quantity of arms, ammunition and camp equipage.

No State shall engage in any war, without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, unless such State be actually invaded by enemies, or shall have received certain advice of a resolution being formed by some nation of Indians to invade such State, and the danger is so imminent as not to admit of a delay till the United States in Congress assembled can be consulted; nor shall any State grant commissions to any ship or vessels of war, nor letters of marque or reprisal, except it be after a declaration of war by the United States in Congress assembled, and then only against the Kingdom or State, and the subjects thereof, against which war has been so declared, and under such regulations as shall be established by the United States in Congress assembled, unless such State be infested by pirates, in which vessels of war may be fitted out for that occasion, and kept so long as the danger shall continue, or until the United States in Congress assembled shall determine otherwise.

ARTICLE VII. When land forces are raised by any State for the common defense, all officers of, or under the rank of colonel, shall be appointed by the Legislature of each State, respectively, by whom such forces shall be raised, or in such manner as such State shall direct, and all vacancies shall be filled up by the State which first made the appointment.

ARTICLE VIII. All charges of war, and all other expenses that shall be incurred for the common defense, or general welfare, and allowed by the United States in Congress assembled, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be supplied by the several States in proportion to the value of all land within each State, granted to or surveyed for, any person, as such land and the buildings and improvements thereon shall be estimated, according to such mode as the United States in Congress assembled shall from time to time direct and appoint. The taxes for paying that proportion shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the Legislatures of the several States within the time agreed upon by the United States in Congress assembled.

ARTICLE IX. The United States in Congress assembled shall have the sole and exclusive right and power of determining on peace and war, except in the cases mentioned in the sixth article: Of sending and receiving embassadors: Entering into treaties and alliances; provided that no treaty of commerce shall be made whereby the legislative power of the respective States shall be restrained from imposing such imposts and duties on foreigners as their own people are subjected to, or from prohibiting the exportation or importation of any species of goods or commodities whatever. Of establishing rules for deciding, in all cases, what captures on land or water shall be legal; and in what manner prizes taken by land or naval forces in the service of the United States shall be divided or

appropriated: Of granting letters of marque or reprisal in times of peace: Appointing courts for the trial of piracies and felonies committed on the high seas; and establishing courts, for receiving and determining, finally, appeals in all cases of captures; provided, that no member of Congress shall be appointed a judge of any of the said courts.

The United States in Congress assembled shall also be the last resort, on appeal, in all disputes and differences now subsisting, or that hereafter may arise, between two or more States, concerning boundary, jurisdiction, or any other cause whatever; which authority shall always be exercised in the manner following: Whenever the legislative or executive authority, or lawful agent, of any State, in controversy with another, shall present a petition to Congress, stating the matter in question, and praying for a hearing, notice thereof shall be given, by order of Congress, to the legislative or executive authority of the other State in controversy; and a day assigned for the appearance of the parties by their lawful agents, who shall then be directed to appoint, by joint consent, commissioners or judges, to constitute a court for hearing and determining the matter in question; but if they cannot agree, Congress shall name three persons, out of each of the United States, and from the list of such persons each party shall alternately strike out one, the petitioners beginning, until the number shall be reduced to thirteen; and from that number, not less than seven, nor more than nine, names, as Congress shall direct, shall, in the presence of Congress, be drawn out, by lot; and the persons whose names shall be so drawn, or any five of them, shall be commissioners or judges, to hear and finally determine the controversy, so always as a major part of the judges, who shall hear the cause, shall agree in the determination. And if either party shall neglect to attend at the day appointed, without showing reasons which Congress shall judge sufficient, or being present shall refuse to strike, the Congress shall proceed to nominate three persons out of each State; and the secretary of Congress shall strike in behalf of such party absent or refusing; and the judgment and sentence of the court, to be appointed in the manner before prescribed, shall be final and conclusive. And if any of the parties shall refuse to submit to the authority of such court, or to appear, or defend their claim or cause, the court shall, nevertheless, proceed to pronounce sentence or judgment, which shall in like manner be final and decisive; the judgment, or sentence, and other proceedings, being in either case, transmitted to Congress, and, lodged among the acts of Congress, for the security of the parties concerned: Provided that every commissioner, before he sits in judgment, shall take an oath, to be administered by one of the judges of the Supreme or Superior Courts of the State where the cause shall be tried, "Well and truly to hear and determine the matter in question, according to the best of his judgment, without favor, affection, or hope of reward:" Provided, also, that no State shall be deprived of territory for the benefit of the United States.

All controversies concerning the private right of soil claimed under different grants of two or more States, whose jurisdiction, as they may respect such lands, and the States which

passed such grants are adjusted, the said grants or either of them being at the same time claimed to have originated antecedent to such settlement of jurisdiction, shall, on the petition of either party to the Congress of the United States, be finally determined, as near as may be, in the same manner as is before prescribed for deciding disputes respecting territorial jurisdiction between different States.

The United States, in Congress assembled, shall have the sole and exclusive right and power of regulating the alloy and value of coin struck by their own authority, or by that of the respective States: Fixing the standard of weights and measures throughout the United States: Regulating the trade and managing all affairs with the Indians, not members of any of the States; provided that the legislative right of any State, within its own limits, be not infringed or violated: Establishing and regulating post-offices from one State to another, throughout all the United States, and exacting such postage on the papers passing through the same as may be requisite to defray the expenses of the said office: Appointing all officers of the land forces in the service of the United States, excepting regimental officers: Appointing all the officers of the naval forces, and commissioning all officers whatever in the service of the United States: Making rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces, and directing their operations.

The United States in Congress assembled shall have authority to appoint a committee, to sit in the recess of Congress, to be denominated A COMMITTEE OF THE STATES, and to consist of one delegate from each State; and to appoint such other committees and civil officers as may be necessary for managing the general affairs of the United States under their direction: To appoint one of their number to preside; provided, that no person be allowed to serve in the office of president more than one year in any term of three years: To ascertain the necessary sums of money to be raised for the service of the United States, and to appropriate and apply the same for defraying the public expenses: To borrow money, or emit bills on the credit of the United States, transmitting every half year to the respective States an account of the sums of money so borrowed or emitted: To build and equip a navy: To agree upon the number of land forces, and to make requisitions from each State for its quota, in proportion to the number of white inhabitants in such State, which requisition shall be binding; and thereupon the Legislature of each State shall appoint the regimental officers, raise the men, and clothe, arm and equip them, in a soldier-like manner, at the expense of the United States; and the officers and men so clothed, armed and equipped, shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on, by the United States in Congress assembled; but if the United States in Congress assembled shall, on consideration of circumstances, judge proper that any State should not raise men, or should raise a smaller number than its quota, and that any other State should raise a greater number of men than its quota thereof, such extra number shall be raised, officered, clothed, armed and equipped, in the same manner as the quota of such State unless the Legislature of such State

shall judge that such extra number cannot be safely spared out of the same; in which case they shall raise, officer, clothe, arm and equip, as many of such extra number as they judge can be safely spared; and the officers and men so clothed, armed and equipped shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on, by the United States in Congress assembled.

The United States in Congress assembled shall never engage in a war, nor grant letters of marque and reprisal in time of peace, nor enter into any treaties or alliances, nor coin money, nor regulate the value thereof, nor ascertain the sum and expenses necessary for the defense and welfare of the United States, or any of them, nor emit bills, nor borrow money on the credit of the United States, nor appropriate money, nor agree upon the numbers of vessels of war to be built or purchased, or the number of land or sea forces to be raised, nor appoint a commander-in-chief of the army or navy, unless nine States assent to the same; nor shall a question on any other point, except for adjourning from day to day, be determined, unless by the votes of a majority of the United States in Congress assembled.

The Congress of the United States shall have power to adjourn at any time within the year, and to any place within the United States, so that no period of adjournment be for a longer duration than the space of six months, and shall publish the journal of their proceedings monthly, except such parts thereof relating to treaties, alliances, or military operations as in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the delegates of each State, on any question, shall be entered on the journal, when it is desired by any delegate; and the delegates of a State, or any of them, at his or their request, shall be furnished with a transcript of the said journal, except such parts as are above excepted, to lay before the legislatures of the several States.

ARTICLE X. The committee of the States, or any nine of them, shall be authorized to execute, in the recess of Congress, such of the powers of Congress as the United States in Congress assembled, by the consent of nine States, shall, from time to time, think expedient to vest them with; provided that no power be delegated to the said committee, for the exercise of which, by the Articles of Confederation, the voice of nine States, in the Congress of the United States assembled, is requisite.

ARTICLE XI. Canada, acceding to this Confederation, and joining in the measures of the United States, shall be admitted into and entitled to all the advantages of this Union; but no other colony shall be admitted into the same unless such admission be agreed to by nine States.

ARTICLE XII. All bills of credit emitted, moneys borrowed, and debts contracted by or under the authority of Congress, before the assembling of the United States, in pursuance of the present Confederation, shall be deemed and considered as a charge against the United States, for payment and satisfaction whereof the said United States and the public faith are hereby solemnly pledged.

ARTICLE XIII. Every State shall abide by the determinations of the United States in Congress assembled, on all questions which, by this Confederation, are submitted to them. And the Articles of this Confederation shall be inviolably observed by every State; and the Union shall be perpetual. Nor shall any alteration at any time hereafter be made in any of them, unless such alteration be agreed to, in a Congress of the United States, and be afterward confirmed by the legislatures of every State.

And whereas, it hath pleased the great Governor of the world to incline the hearts of the Legislatures we respectively represent in Congress, to approve of, and to authorize us to ratify, the said Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union:

KNOW YE, That we, the undersigned delegates, by virtue of the power and authority to us given for this purpose, do, by these presents, in the name, and in behalf, of our respective constituents, fully and entirely ratify and confirm each and every of the said Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union, and all and singular the matters and things therein contained. And we do further solemnly plight and engage the faith of our respective constituents, that they shall abide by the determinations of the United States in Congress assembled, on all questions, which, by the said Confederation, are submitted to them; and that the articles thereof shall be inviolably observed by the States we respectively represent; and that the Union shall be perpetual.

In witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands in Congress.

Done at Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania, the ninth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight, and in the third year of the Independence of America.

[Here follow the signatures of the delegates from New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. Forty-eight in all.]

Appointments to Office. (*See Term and Tenure of Office.*)

Apportionment is the allotment to any portion of the people of the right of selection of a member in a legislative body, or the allotment to them of the duty of providing a certain proportion of a tax. It may be based on status, geographical divisions, or on numbers. The United States Constitution, Article 1, section 3, apportions two Senators to every State, a geographical apportionment; in Article 1, section 2, the apportionment of representatives is based on the number of free persons (excluding Indians), plus three-fifths of all slaves, being

thus dependent partly on number and partly on status. The Fourteenth Amendment does away with the limitation as to status and bases the apportionment on numbers merely, excluding Indians and persons without cause deprived of their right to vote. The Constitution provisionally apportioned the representatives according to the best information obtainable, assigning to each State a specified number and provided for subsequent periodical enumerations, establishing a minimum of 30,000 persons to one representative. In 1792 an apportionment based on the census of 1790, assigned one hundred and five members, one to every 33,000 inhabitants, all fractions being disregarded, and in 1802 an apportionment on the same terms was made based on the census of 1800, the total of members being one hundred and forty-one. The census of 1810 caused in 1811 one hundred and eighty-one members to be distributed among the States, one member being assigned to 35,000 persons. The census of 1820 increased the number of members to two hundred and twelve, and the number of persons to whom one representative was assigned to 40,000. The census of 1830 resulted in a law giving one member to every 47,000 people, a total of two hundred and forty members. In all these apportionments fractions had been disregarded, but the discussion following the census of 1840 ended in the adoption of the principle of representation to fractions larger than one-half. In this debate a proposition to force States to elect by districts was voted down. By the act of 1842 there were two hundred and twenty-three members, being one in 70,680 persons; six members being assigned to States having fractions larger than one-half. In 1850 S. F. Vinton, of Ohio, amended the bill providing for the taking of the census, so as to leave the apportionment on the following basis in the hands of the Secretary of the Interior. This law came to be known as the Vinton Bill. As subsequently passed it provided for two hundred and thirty-three members. The total population of the country was to be divided by two hundred and thirty-three, thus obtaining the number of

constituents of each member, then by dividing the total population of each State by the basis thus obtained, the number of representatives assigned to each State for full constituencies would be obtained; the number of members remaining was then to be apportioned among the fractions until exhausted. One member was subsequently added to California. The ratio was one to 93,420. The principle of the Vinton Bill has since prevailed in all of the apportionments. Based on the census of 1860, two hundred and forty-one members were apportioned, being one to every 126,840 persons. The thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments abolished the slaves as a basis for representation, but the provision in the fourteenth amendment ordering a reduction in the number on which the apportionment is to be based, in cases of causeless deprivation of persons of the right to vote, has been deemed impracticable and is now disregarded. In 1872, four members were assigned to States not having the full number required for one representative, two hundred and seventy-nine were apportioned among the remaining States on the principle of the Vinton Bill, and nine additional were subsequently added to certain States, making a total of two hundred and ninety-two, or one in 131,425 persons. The latest apportionment took effect March 4, 1883. By it three hundred and twenty-five members sit in Congress, being one to every 151,912 persons.

Appropriations.—Article 1, section 7, clause 1 of the Constitution provides that "All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives;" a similar privilege has been claimed by the House in the case of appropriations of public money, but in this case the claim has not been insisted on. Previous to 1865 the appropriation bills were in the House considered by the Committee of Ways and Means, but in that year the Committee on Appropriations was formed. By a rule of the House and Senate, appropriation bills must include only items authorized by existing laws, and they cannot contain provisions changing existing laws. But this rule is frequently disregarded. These bills

must be reported to the Committee of the Whole, and may be reported at any time, taking precedence of any other measures. This rule puts vast power into the hands of the chairman of the committee, and of late years this power has been used to choke discussion on the subject of the tariff, by withholding the report of the appropriation bills until the end of the session and then introducing them at a time when the most urgent duties of Congress having been performed, that topic is most likely to come up for discussion. In the House the yeas and nays on the passage of these bills must be recorded. But bills are frequently passed under a suspension of this rule. In the Senate this is not necessary. The Appropriation Committee in that body was organized in 1867, the Finance Committee having previously had that matter in charge. The appropriation bills are made up from estimates furnished by the heads of the executive departments; these are usually much reduced in the House, and these estimates are again usually raised by the Senate (which body has less political capital to make out of a claim of economy); a compromise between the two usually results in appropriations considerably lower than the amount asked for by the department officers. This necessitates the passage, at the beginning of every session, of a bill to supply the deficiency of the previous appropriations; this bill is known as the Deficiency Bill.

The annual appropriation made by the United States Congress for the expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1892, was $323,783,079, of this amount over $135,000,000 was for pensions.

Besides these appropriations there are "permanent annual appropriations," or money expended by the treasury by virtue of laws whose operation involves the expenditure without a specific appropriation renewed each year, as interest on the public debt. For the expenditures of the government, *see Expenditures and Receipts of the United States.*

Arbitration, International.—The earliest method of settling international disputes was by war. This

method has not yet entirely ceased, but the growth of the industrial spirit among nations, whereby the property subject to destruction in war has been vastly augmented and peaceful habits have been cultivated, and the growth of a spirit of equity in dealing with other nations has ceased the settlement of many disputes in modern times by arbitration instead of by war. The contesting nations select some arbitrator, or arbitrators, to whom the disputed point is referred and whose decision is to be final, or subject to the approval of each, according to the terms of the submission. The submission is sometimes the result of a treaty, and sometimes it merely grows out of state correspondence, and is intended to clear the atmosphere in international discussions by the aid of an impartial opinion. The situation of the United States, remote from most foreign nations, her lack of a large navy and standing army, the peaceful habits of her people and the conciliatory policy of her government from the outset, have inclined her frequently in the history of her foreign relations to submit disputes to arbitration. The Treaty of Washington was from this point of view a remarkable one, both because of the importance of its subjects and the success attending the reference of them to arbitration, and its example has not been without its effect in increasing respect both for the United States and the method of arbitration among other nations.

Arctic Expeditions, American.—The first American expedition to the Arctic regions was made in 1850, when the ships Advance and Rescue started in search of the lost explorer Sir John Franklin and his party. In October of the following year, after an absence of nineteen months, they returned, having discovered only supposed traces of the objects of their search, and leaving their actual fate in entire uncertainty. The second American expedition, having for its object the same humane purpose, was due in a great measure to Dr. Kane, and was made under the auspices of the Navy Department, the Smithsonian Institute, the Geographical Society of New York, the American Philosophical

Society, and other scientific associations. This expedition was also unsuccessful so far as discovering any information regarding the fate of Franklin. During 1864-'69, the Monticello, Commander Charles F. Hall, reached King William's Land, and in 1871, the Polaris reached latitude 82 degrees 16 minutes north. The next expedition of particular importance was that of the Jeannette, Commander Lieutenant De Long, 1879-'81. This unfortunate vessel was crushed June 13, 1881, in latitude 77 degrees 14 minutes 57 seconds north. In 1880 the Corwin, Commander Captain C. L. Hooper, who had sailed for the relief of the Jeannette, reached Wrangell Land; and in the same year the Rodgers, Commander Lieutenant R. M. Berry, reached latitude 73 degrees 28 minutes north. The Greely expedition of 1881 reached the highest latitude yet attained—83 degrees 24 1-2 minutes north.

Arbor Day.—The first suggestion of tree planting under the direction of state authority was made by B. G. Northrop, then Secretary of the Connecticut Board of Education, about 1865, in an official state report. In 1876 this same gentleman endeavored to stimulate "centennial tree planting" by the offer of prizes to the children of Connecticut. But the idea of setting apart a day for the work had originated with ex-Governor J. Sterling Morton, of Nebraska, who about 1872 induced the Governor of that state to issue a proclamation appointing a day for the planting of trees throughout the state. A year or two later the day was made a legal holiday by enactment of the Legislature, and provision was made for awarding premiums to those who put out the most trees in it. It is said that nearly 700,000,000 Arbor Day trees are now in thriving condition on the prairie tracts of the state.

The example of Nebraska was soon followed by Kansas, and with grand results. Arbor Day in Minnesota, first observed in 1876, resulted, it is said, in planting over a million and a half of trees. In Michigan the Arbor Day law was passed in 1881, and in Ohio in 1882. Since

then Arbor day has been observed in Colorado, Wisconsin, West Virginia, Indiana, Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Florida, Alabama, Missouri, California, Kentucky, Maine and Georgia. In several other states its observance has been secured by the recommendation of the Grange, the Grand Army of the Republic, or by State agricultural societies. While at the outset economic tree-planting was the primary aim, the adornment of home and school grounds soon followed. On the first Ohio Arbor Day, the children of Cincinnati joined in an attractive celebration, in the form of planting memorial trees and dedicating them to authors, statesmen, and other distinguished citizens. B. G. Northrop says, concerning the value of the observance of Arbor Day: "While forests should not be planted on our rich arable lands, there are in New England and all the Atlantic states large areas of barrens worthless for field crops, that may be profitably devoted to wood-growing. The feasibility of reclaiming our most sterile wastes is proved by many facts both at home and abroad. Our Atlantic sand plains were once covered with forests and can be reforested. Over 10,000 acres on Cape Cod, which thirty years ago were barren, sandy plains, are now covered with thriving planted forests."

Aristocrats.—A name applied by the Republicans to a section of the Federalists in 1796. Also called the British Party.

Arizona is a Territory of the United States. It originally formed parts of the Mexican cession and the Gadsden purchase. (*See Annexations IV and V.*) It was separated from New Mexico and organized by Act of February 24, 1863. Phœnix is the capital. The population in 1880 was 40,440 and in the last census (1890) 59,602. (*See Governors; Legislatures.*)

Area of the United States.—The area of the various territories which have been acquired by the United States from time to time is given under *Annexations.* The areas of the various States and Territories and of the United States are given in the following

table, the figures including the gross land and water areas as given in the census of 1890, except as to Alaska, the extent of which is given as estimated by the special agent for that census:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	GROSS AREA IN SQUARE MILES.
Alabama	52,250
Alaska Territory	577,390
Arizona	113,020
Arkansas	53,850
California	158,360
Colorado	103,925
Connecticut	4,990
Dakota, North	70,775
Dakota, South	77,650
Delaware	2,050
District of Columbia	70
Florida	58,680
Georgia	59,475
Idaho	84,800
Illinois	56,650
Indiana	36,350
Indian Territory	31,400
Iowa	56,025
Kansas	82,080
Kentucky	40,400
Louisiana	48,720
Maine	33,040
Maryland	12,210
Massachusetts	8,315
Michigan	58,915
Minnesota	83,365
Mississippi	46,810
Missouri	69,415
Montana	146,080
Nebraska	77,510
Nevada	110,700
New Hampshire	9,305
New Jersey	7,815
New Mexico	122,580
New York	49,170
North Carolina	52,250
Ohio	41,060
Oregon	96,030
Pennsylvania	45,215
Rhode Island	1,250
South Carolina	30,570
Tennessee	42,050
Texas	265,780
Utah	84,970
Vermont	9,565
Virginia	42,450
Washington	69,180
West Virginia	24,780
Wisconsin	56,040
Wyoming	97,890
Oklahama Territory	39,030
Delaware Bay	620
Rariton Bay and Lower New York Bay	100
Total United States	3,603,710

Arkansas.—The State of Arkansas was originally a portion of the Louisiana purchase. (*See Annexations I.*) It was separated as Arkansaw Territory from Missouri in 1819, and was admitted to the Union on June 15, 1836. On May 6, 1861, a convention passed an ordinance of secession, and the State was re-admitted to the Union June 22, 1868. The capital is Little Rock. The population in 1880 was 802,525, and in the last 1890, census 1,128,179. Arkansas sends five members to the House of Representatives and has seven electoral votes; it is a Democratic State. In 1881 the Legislature declared the pronunciation of its name to be *Ar-kan-saw.* The name is of Indian origin and has no known meaning. Arkansas is popularly known as the Bear State, in allusion to the figures on the coat of arms of Missouri, of which it was once a part. (*See Governors; Legislatures.*)

Army of the United States.—On January 1, 1892, the army contained:

	OFFICERS.	ENLISTED MEN.	TOTAL.
10 Cavalry regiments	432	6,050	6,480
5 Artillery regiments	282	3,675	3,957
25 Infantry regiments	877	12,125	13,002
Miscellaneous	579	3,370	3,949
Total	2,170	25,220	27,388

The last division includes the engineer service, recruiting parties, ordnance department, hospital service, Indian scouts, West Point, signal detachments and general service.

The army is commanded by three major-generals, and six brigadier-generals. The pay of the officers is as follows:

	PAY DURING FIRST 5 YEARS of Service.	Maximum Pay.
Major-General	$7,500	10,500
Brigadier-General	5,500	7,700
Colonel	3,500	4,500
Lieutenant-Colonel	3,000	4,000
Major	2,500	3,500
Captain, mounted	2,000	2,800
Captain, not mounted	1,800	2,520
First Lieutenant, mounted	1,600	2,240
First Lieutenant, not mounted	1,500	2,100
Second Lieutenant	1,400	1,960

The pay is graded, acccording to years of active service, being increased at the rate of ten per cent. for every five years of service until after twenty years' service the maximum is reached; in the case of colonels and lieutenant-colonels the maximum is fixed somewhat lower. Officers are allowed mileage at the rate of eight cents a mile for every mile traveled under orders. The pay of the men is graded from $13 a month and rations, for the first two years, to $21 a month and rations after twenty years' service. The retired list of the army is limited to 400 officers. Any commissioned officer that has served thirty years may be retired on his own request at the discretion of the President, or having served forty years on his own request absolutely; or having served forty-five years, or having attained the age of sixty-two years, at the discretion of the President, without any act of his own. The pay is seventy-five per cent. of the pay allotted to officers of his rank in active service at the time of retirement. There are at present thirty-one general officers on the list, being one general, four major-generals and twenty-six brigader-generals. The general officers of the army are at present (1892) as follows:

RANK.	NAME.	COMMAND.
Major-General	John M. Schofield	United States Army.
Major-General	Oliver O. Howard	Depart. of the East.
Major-General	Nelson A. Miles	Depart. of Missouri.
Brigadier-General	Thomas H. Ruger	Depart. of California.
Brigadier-General	Wesley Merritt	Depart. of Dakota.
Brigadier-General	David S. Stanley	Depart. of Texas.
Brigadier-General	John R. Brooke	Depart. of the Platte.
Brigadier-General	A. Mc D. McCook	Depart. of Arizona.
Brigadier-Genaral	A. V. Kautz	Depart. of the Columbia.

The commanders of the army have been as follows:

Major-General George Washington, June 15, 1775, to December 23, 1783.
Major-General Henry Knox, December 23, 1783, to June 20, 1784.
Lieutenant-Colonel Josiah Harmar, General-in-Chief by brevet, September, 1788, to March, 1791.
Major-General Arthur St. Clair, March 4, 1791, to March, 1792.
Major-General Anthony Wayne, April 11, 1792, to December 15, 1796.
Major-General James Wilkinson, December 15, 1796, to July, 1798.
Lieutenant-General George Washington, July 3, 1798, to his death, December 14, 1799.
Major-General James Wilkinson, June, 1800, to January, 1812.
Major-General Henry Dearborn, January 27, 1812, to June, 1815.
Major-General Jacob Brown, June, 1815, to February 21, 1828.

Major-General Alexander Macomb, May 24, 1828, to June, 1841.
Major-General Winfield Scott (brevet Lieutenant-General), June, 1841, to November 1, 1861.
Major-General George B. McClellan, November 1, 1861, to March 11, 1862.
Major-General H. W. Halleck, July 11, 1862, to March 12, 1864.
Lieutenant-General U. S. Grant, March 12, 1864, to July 25, 1866, and as General to March 4, 1869.
General W. T. Sherman, March 4, 1869, to November 1, 1883.
Lieutenant-General P. H. Sheridan, November 1, 1883, to August 5, 1888.
Major-General J. M. Schofield, August 5, 1888, to ——

The maximum strength of the army, including officers and men, as authorized by Congress at various times, was as follows:

1789	....1 regiment of Infantry, 1 battery of Artillery..	840
1792	....Indian War	5,120
1794	....Peace organization	3,629
1801	....Peace organization	5,144
1807	.. ..Peace organization	3,278
1810	....Peace organization	7,154
1812	....War of 1812	11,831
1815	....War of 1812	9,413
1817—21	....Peace organization	9,980
1822—32	....Peace organization	6,184
1833—37	....Peace organization	7,198
1838—42	....Florida War	12,539
1843—46	....Peace organization	8,613
1847	....Mexican War	17,812
1848	....Mexican War	30,890
1849—55	....Peace organization	10,320
1856—61	....Peace organization	12,931
1862	....Civil War	39,273
1863—66	....Civil War	43,332
1867	....Peace organization	54,641
1868—69	....Peace organization	52,922
1870	....Peace organization	37,313
1871	....Peace organization	35,353
1872—74	....Peace organization	32,264
1875—92	....Peace organization	27,489

The President of the United States is commander-in-chief of the army (Constitution, Article 2, section 2), and under him is the Secretary of War. (*See War Department.*)

Arm-in-Arm Convention.—A name given to a convention of Republicans that supported President Johnson's policy on reconstruction; it met in Philadelphia in August, 1866. Its name arose from the fact that the members from Massachusetts and from South Carolina entered the convention together at the head of the delegates.

Aroostook Disturbance. (*See Northeast Boundary.*)

Arthur, Chester A.—Was born at Fairfield, Franklin County, Vermont, October 5, 1830. During his

early youth his father moved to New York. He was a graduate of Union College. He taught school for a time, and from 1860 to 1863 he was engineer-in-chief on Governor Morgan's staff and after 1862 inspector-general as well. From 1871 to 1878 he was Collector of the Port of New York. In 1880 he was elected Vice-President of the United States under Garfield, and on the death of the latter in September, 1881, he became President. He was a Republican. During his administration the famous Star Route Trials took place. Although mistrusted by a portion of the country on first assuming the office, he disappointed his enemies. by acquitting himself creditably. He was a member of the Stalwart faction of the Republican party before his accession to the Presidency. He died in New York City on November 18, 1886.

Ashburton Treaty, The, was drawn up by Lord Ashburton, Commissioner from Great Britain, and Daniel Webster, Secretary of State under Tyler. It was signed at Washington, August 9, 1842, ratified by the Senate on the 20th of the same month, and proclaimed by the President on the 10th of the following November. Besides settling the northeast boundary (*which see*), it provided that the United States should make common cause with Great Britain in suppressing the slave trade, and also provided for the extradition of persons charged with certain crimes.

Ask Nothing but What is Right, Submit to Nothing Wrong.—This was Andrew Jackson's conception of what our foreign policy should be, as embodied in instructions to our ministers abroad.

Assay Offices are establishments maintained by the Government in which gold and silver bullion may be deposited by citizens, they receiving its value, less charges in return. There are five, namely: at New York City, Boisé City, Idaho; Helena, Montana; Charlotte, North Carolina; St. Louis, Missouri. The total of their operations for the year ending July 1, 1887, was 4,483,651,897 standard ounces of gold, and 45,921,882,657 standard ounces of silver.

Assembly. (*See Legislature.*)

Assembly, Right of.—The right of the people peaceably to assemble for discussion and mutual support in lawful actions is implied in the republican form of Government. The first amendment to the Constitution protects the right of assembly and petition for a redress of grievances, so far as the National Government is concerned. The State constitutions generally, if not always, protect the right, so far as it comes within their scope. But the right of the people to assemble to discuss matters of a public or private nature is to be distinguished from the assembly with intent to commit violence on persons or property, to resist the execution of the laws, to disturb the public order or for the perpetration of acts creating public terror or alarm. Such unlawful assemblies are not protected by State or National Constitutions.

Assessments, Political. (*See Civil Service Reform.*)

Associated Youth was a name given in 1798 to associations of young Federalists, who drew up addresses in favor of the Federalist party and its principles, and in other ways supported and aided it. They were largely instrumental in spreading the custom of wearing black cockades.

Asylum of the Oppressed of Every Nation.—This phrase is used in the Democratic National Platform of 1856, referring to the United States.

Athens of America, or Modern Athens.—A name by which Boston, Massachusetts, is sometimes known in recognition of its intellectual character.

Atherton Gag Laws. (*See Gag Laws.*)

Atherton Resolutions. (*See Gag Laws.*)

Attainder is the extinction of civil rights and privileges in an individual, and the forfeiture of his property to the government. In England, under the common law, it followed as a matter of course on a conviction and sentence to death for treason, and to some extent on sentence for other crimes. A Bill of Attainder is a legislative conviction of crime, with a sentence of death. The accused may or may not be given a trial. Foreign governments have employed this method of disposing of

political offenders without giving them the opportunity of a regular judicial trial. The crime against which Bills of Attainder are usually directed is treason. Attainder following on sentence of death for treason formerly worked forfeiture of the condemned person's estate to the government, and by corruption of blood, as it is called, prevented his heirs from inheriting. Legislative convictions which impose punishments less than death are called Bills of Pains and Penalties; they are included in the meaning of the words, "Bill of Attainder," used in the Constitution of the United States. That document prohibits the passage of Bills of Attainder by Congress or any State (Article 1, section 9, clause 3), and further provides, concerning judicial convictions of treason (Article 3, section 3, clause 2), that "no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted." The Supreme Court has decided unconstitutional, as coming within the prohibitions of the Constitution, an act of Congress aimed at those who had engaged on the Confederate side in the Civil War, requiring all persons to take an oath negativing any such disloyal action before they should be allowed to practice in the United States Courts. (*See Treason.*)

Attorney General of the United States. (*See Justice, Department of.*)

Bachelor President.—James Buchanan was the only unmarried President of the United States, and was consequently called as above. President Cleveland was at the time of his inauguration unmarried, but he married during his term of office, June 2, 1886.

Balance of Trade of a country is the difference in value between its exports and its imports. The notion long prevailed that an excess of exports over imports was desirable, and this led to such a balance being termed a balance in favor of the country, while a balance of imports over exports was considered unfavorable or against it. This notion was based on the mistaken idea that the balance of trade must be settled by imports or exports of specie, the importation of which was regarded as desirable. This view has, however, been entirely dis-

carded by political economists. It is now known that in healthy and profitable trade imports must of necessity exceed exports. A given quantity of merchandise exported from a country must, in order to yield a profit, be sold in a foreign market at a price which includes cost, insurance and freight to the foreign market and reasonable profit to the merchants; if this increased sum be invested in merchandise to be returned to the original country its value there must of necessity be greater than that of the exported articles. Not that transactions can be thus traced except in isolated cases; we may indeed assume a case of exports exclusively to England and of imports exclusively from France, the trade between these countries equalizing the transaction; for bills of exchange and the other instruments of commerce render very simple in practice even the cases most difficult to trace in theory; the desire for gain leads every article to find the market in which it is most valuable; in this sense gold and silver are articles of commerce, and they will not be exported unless their value in the other country is greater than at home.

Ballot is any vote taken in such manner as to keep secret the choice of each individual voting; it is distinguished from the *vivâ voce* or open vote. In most of the States vote by ballot is an old custom in popular elections. In many States it was made obligatory by constitutions adopted in 1776. In New York it came into partial use in 1778, and after 1787 it was universally adopted there. Many of the Southern States voted openly, but in all States except Kentucky this has been superseded by the ballot; but even in that State the vote for members of the House of Representatives must be by ballot in accordance with Federal laws. In eleven of the States provisions in the constitution prescribe the open vote for all proceedings of the Legislature. Where there is no such provision the House may determine for itself its method of voting.

Ballot-Box Stuffing is a method of election fraud and consists in arranging several ballots so as to appear as but one, thus enabling an individual to cast several votes.

Bank Notes are obligations issued by a bank, by which it binds itself to pay a certain specified sum to the bearer on demand. These notes will be taken wherever the standing of the bank is known. Our National bank notes are taken everywhere because protected by government bonds deposited with the Treasurer of the United States. Long experience has shown banks what percentage of the amount of bank notes issued must be kept on hand in actual specie to meet all demands likely to be made on that score.

Bank of North America was the name of the first bank of a national character incorporated in this country. It had a charter for ten years from 1781 from the Confederation, but doubts as to its legality lead the bank to seek and obtain a charter from the State of Pennsylvania in 1783. In 1785 this latter charter was revoked, but in 1787 it was renewed. It was located at Philadelphia.

Bank of the United States.—There have, in the history of this country, been two such banks, the first from 1791 to 1811, the second from 1816 to 1836. The incorporation of the first of these was a part of Hamilton's financial scheme, and it aroused great opposition. Jefferson, Madison and others that subsequently formed and became the leaders of the Republican party were foremost in the opposition, which was based on the lack of power on the part of Congress to charter any such institution. The attitude of public men on this measure was among the first indications of the direction in which party lines would tend. Jefferson and the future Republicans demanded a strict construction of the Constitution, and denied the grant of any such power to Congress in that instrument. Hamilton maintained that the right to charter a corporation was one of the inherent privileges of a sovereign power, that the Federal government was a sovereign power, and need not therefore have such authority specifically granted, and that the step was "within the sphere of the specified powers" of the government enumerated by the Constitution. The bill incorporating the bank became

law in 1791. The bank was to continue for twenty years, its capital was to be $10,000,000, of which $2,000,000 was to be subscribed by the government. In return the government was to receive a loan of $2,000,000, repayable in yearly installments of $200,000. Congress agreed to charter no other bank within twenty years. The public subscriptions were to be payable one-quarter in coin and three-quarters in three or six per cent. national debt certificates. The bank was authorized to establish branches, and its notes were to be received in payments to the United States. Although Jefferson had originally opposed the bank on the ground of the unconstitutionality of its charter, he nevertheless while President recognized its constitutionality by signing various acts affecting it, and in the courts the legitimacy of its existence was never questioned. Its efforts to obtain a renewal of its charter from the United States at the expiration of its existence in 1811 were unsuccessful, as were the efforts to prolong its life by a Pennsylvania State charter, and so it went out of existence. The head office of the bank was at Philadelphia. The government stock in the bank was sold to English bankers in 1802 at a premium of fifty-seven per cent. The bank had paid dividends averaging over eight per cent. per annum; while in liquidation it was bought out by Stephen Girard, of Philadelphia, one of the stockholders, and continued by him as a private institution.

In 1816 the second Bank of the United States was incorporated. Public sentiment had been inclined in favor of such a renewal by the financial difficulties attending the war of 1812, but although the subject was broached as early as 1814, it was two years later before the act passed. This time it was the Federalists that were opposed to it, and by in turn supporting and opposing each of two rival plans, they had compassed the defeat of both. The powers of the bank were much the same as those of the first. Its capital stock was $35,000,000, payable one-fifth in cash and four-fifths in government stock. It was to have the custody of public

funds, and five of the twenty-five directors were to be appointed by the government. Mismanagement brought the bank into a precarious position, and the new bank president was obliged, as a matter of necessity, largely to curtail its loans. The stringency thus created awakened considerable feeling against the bank. The first intimation of any connection of the bank with politics was the demand of certain of President Jackson's political friends for the removal of the president of a New England branch who was politically obnoxious to them. The president of the bank, Nicholas Biddle, refused, denying any connection of his institution with politics. President Jackson was opposed to the bank, and his messages to Congress in 1829, 1830 and 1831 expressed strong dislike of the institution. In 1832 a bill to recharter passed both Houses, but was vetoed by the President and failed to pass over the veto. The elections of that year produced a House, the majority of which, supported the President. On the plea that the bank was not safe, the President now removed the government deposits and placed them with State banks, which were called Banks of Deposit, and nicknamed "*Pet Banks.*" In this he was supported by the House, which decided against a renewal of the charter and ordered an investigation of the bank. Of this nothing came. The bank was chartered by the State of Pennsylvania, and was thereafter known as the Nicholas Biddle's United States Bank. Only one more attempt to establish such a bank was made. This was in 1844, while Tyler was President. Two bills having that end in view passed Congress, but they were both vetoed.

Bankruptcy is a state of inability to pay all debts; it is also the process by which an individual may secure a discharge of his indebtedness by surrendering his property and complying with the law. The Constitution of the United States (Article 1, section 8, clause 4) gives Congress power "to establish . . . uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States." As the States also have the right to pass similar laws affecting their own citizens whenever there is

no national law on the subject in force, it is customary to distinguish between National and State laws by calling the former bankrupt, and the latter insolvent laws. Three times only in the history of the government has there existed a bankrupt law. The first was passed in 1800 and was repealed in 1803; the second became law in 1841, and was taken from the statute books in 1843; the third had the longest life: it became law March 2, 1867, and was repealed on June 7, 1878, the repeal to take effect September 1st of that year. There is at present a considerable demand for another bankrupt law to secure uniformity throughout the country.

Banks of Deposit. (*See Deposit Banks.*)

Barbary Pirates.—The countries on the Mediterranean coast of Africa from Egypt to the Atlantic, namely, Morocco, Algeria, Tunis and Tripoli (which are known collectively as the Barbary Powers) had been in the habit of preying on the commerce of nations that refused to pay a tribute to them. Shortly after the Revolution the operations of these pirates were directed against our commerce, to protect which treaties were negotiated with the Barbary States, in 1786–7 with Morocco, in 1795 with Algiers, in 1796 with Tripoli, and in 1799 with Tunis. By these treaties the United States purchased immunity for its commerce by gross sums or yearly tributes. This shameful course was made necessary by our lack of an effective navy, which was due to the action of the Republican party of those days. But the government was now forced to organize a small navy, which was found useful against Tripoli. That country, becoming dissatisfied with the tribute, declared war in 1801. In 1803 some half a dozen American vessels were dispatched to the Mediterranean. In October the frigate Philadelphia ran aground in the harbor of Tripoli and was captured. Decatur in the following February sailed into the port at night, boarded the Philadelphia under the guns of the enemy, killed or forced overboard every one of her defenders, set fire to the vessel, and escaped without losing a man and with only four wounded. A land expedition conducted by General Eaton, American

Consul at Tunis, terminated the war and forced Tripoli to make peace in June, 1805. In 1812 Algiers declared war against the United States. As soon as the war then commencing against England had been brought to an end, our government turned its attention to Algiers. The Algerian war was short and decisive. In the spring of 1815 Commodore Decatur was sent with nine or ten vessels to chastise the pirates. In June he captured the largest of their frigates, and soon after took another vessel. He then dictated a treaty to the Dey of Algiers, which was signed June 30, 1815, relinquishing all claims to tribute in the future. Tunis and Tripoli were next forced to pay an indemnity for permitting British men-of-war to seize American vessels in their harbors during the war of 1812. Thenceforth there was no more tribute paid to the Barbary States, and their depredations on American commerce ceased. The troubles with these countries had forced the formation of a navy on the country, despite the wishes of the Republicans, and thus prepared us for the war with England. They also led to a slight increase in customs duties in 1804 and following years for the purpose of forming the Mediterranean Fund, as it was called, to protect American commerce.

Bargain. (*See Political Bargain.*)

Bar'l.—A slangy abbreviation for the word barrel, used in politics to denote that which the "barrel" is supposed to contain, namely, money. Any rich politician who opens his coffers for the benefit of his party is said to "tap his bar'l."

Barnburners.—A name applied to the followers of Van Buren, when in 1844 the Democratic party in New York split into two factions. The story of a farmer that burned his barn in order to free it from rats, was often told and the case of the party likened to it. Hence the name. Later they were known as the Softs or Soft-Shells. Their opponents, while known as Barnburners, were the Hunkers; while known as Softs, the Hards or Hard-Shells. (*See Free Soil party.*)

Battle Above the Clouds, The.—The capture of Lookout Mountain by General Joseph Hooker during the Civil War, is known as the battle above the clouds.

Bayard, James Asheton, was born in Pennsylvania, in 1767. He was graduated at Princeton and then practiced law in Delaware. From 1797 to 1801 he represented that State in Congress. He served in the Senate from 1804 to 1813. The posts of Minister to France and also to Russia were at different times offered to him, but declined. He aided in negotiating the Treaty of Ghent. He died August 6, 1815. He was a Federalist.

Bayard, James A., was born in Wilmington, Delaware, November 15, 1799, and died June 13, 1880. He served in the United States Senate from 1851 to 1864. In 1867 he was returned to the Senate. He was the son of James Asheton Bayard and the father of Thomas F. Bayard. He was a Democrat.

Bayard, Thomas F., was born at Wilmington, Delaware, October 29, 1828. He is a lawyer by profession. In 1853 he was appointed United States District Attorney for Delaware, but resigned in the next year. He was elected to the United States Senate for the term commencing 1869, his father, James A. Bayard, being at the same time re-elected to the other senatorship. He continued in the Senate until appointed Secretary of State by President Cleveland.

Beecher, Henry Ward, was born at Litchfield, Connecticut, June 24, 1813; he died in Brooklyn March 8, 1887. After acting as pastor in two different Presbyterian churches in Indiana, he was called to Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, a Congregationalist organization. Over this he presided until his death. He was a man of independent and outspoken views, singularly eloquent, and a leader in the Anti-Slavery agitation. He was a liberal-minded man, active in politics and one of the leaders of the revolt in the Republican party in 1884.

Bell, John, was born near Nashville, Tennessee, February 15, 1797, and died September 10, 1869. He was a lawyer, a graduate of the University of Nashville. He was a Congressman from 1829 to 1841, as a Whig; also Secretary of War under Harrison and Tyler. He became the presidential candidate of the Constitutional Union party in 1860.

Benton, Thomas Hart, was born near Hillsborough, North Carolina, March 14, 1784; he died in Washington April 10, 1858. He was a lawyer in Nashville but left the place after a street fight with Jackson. He moved to Missouri, which State he subsequently represented. He was United States Senator from 1821 to 1851. From 1853 to 1855 he was in the House. He was a Democrat, but opposed to secession and to slavery agitation; this caused his defeat in several elections late in life.

Berlin Decree. (*See Embargo Act.*)

Biddle's, Nicholas, United States Bank. (*See Nicholas Biddle's United States Bank.*)

Big Ditch.—The Erie Canal was spoken of derisively as "Clinton's Big Ditch" before its success and importance were made apparent.

Big Head is a political phrase to indicate an exalted opinion of his own abilities on the part of a public man.

Big Knife.—A name applied to General Andrew Jackson by the Southern Indians in recognition of his military successes against them.

Bill of 1800.—A law introduced in that year by Senator James Ross, of Pennsylvania, to regulate the electoral count. It provided for a "grand committee" of six Senators, six Representative and the Chief Justice. These, sitting in secret, were to settle all disputes concerning electoral votes. The bill was amended in the House so as to give to the committee the power merely to take testimony, doubtful returns to be rejected only by a concurrent vote of both Houses; this was amended by the Senate so as to cause returns to be rejected unless accepted by a concurrent vote. The bill was lost. The bill is memorable as the first open attempt on the part of Congress to arrogate to itself the duty assigned by the Constitution to the President of the Senate of counting the electoral votes.

Bill of Rights.—A bill of rights is the summary of rights and privileges claimed by the people of a nation against the tyrannous exercise of power by their rulers. The Bill of Rights in England is an Act of Parliament

passed in 1689 by which the privileges claimed in the petition of right that was presented to William and Mary and acceded to by them on accepting the call to the British throne, were enacted as fundamental principles of English liberty. The chief of these principles had previously been asserted in the Magna Charta in 1215, and the Petition of Right presented to Charles I in 1628 (*see those titles*). The first six amendments to the Constitution of the United States are sometimes called our Bill of Rights. They are designed to prevent tyrannous acts by the Federal government and to protect, among other things, the freedom of religion, speech and the press, the rights of assembly, petition, bearing arms, and trial by jury, and the right to compensation for private property taken for public uses. (*See Eminent Domain, Jury and Right of Assembly, &c.*) Most of the State constitutions in a similar way secure these rights to the people under their control.

Bills of Attainder. (*See Attainder.*)

Bi-metallism is the doctrine that two metals can and ought, at the same time, in the same country, to be adopted as standards of value, and to bear to each other a fixed ratio established and recognized by the government. The term is almost exclusively used in reference to the metals gold and silver. Monometallism is the doctrine that only one metal ought so to be used. It is a proposition generally admitted by bi-metallists that attempts to realize their object must fail unless the most important commercial countries unite in fixing the ratio between the metals. If different countries adopt a double standard, selecting different ratios, the gold or the silver, as the case may be, of every country, will leave it to go to a country in which it happens to be rendered more valuable, and thus the two metals will be separated and the object fail. If any one country alone adopt a double standard, its gold or silver will be exported according as the market value of silver (in other countries a mere commodity and not a standard of value) is lower or higher than the value fixed by the government ratio. (*See Coinage.*) Our country is monometallic, notwith-

standing the fact that there is silver in circulation; silver is here coined only for the purposes of the government, and an individual presenting silver bullion at our mints and assay offices cannot have the same coined into dollars, as he can with gold. The coinage of bullion, as instanced in the case of gold, is called free coinage. Bimetallists regard the use of both metals as necessary, and claim that the co-operation of the principal commercial nations will suffice to establish it. Monometallists maintain that practical business has brought all nations to single standards, and that any change would be an uncalled for interference with natural laws, the untrammeled operation of which invariably conduces to the best results.

Birney, James G., was born in Danville, Kentucky, February 4, 1792, and died at Perth Amboy, New Jersey, November 25, 1857. He was originally a slave-holder, and at one time agent for a colonization society. In 1834 he freed his slaves and established an Abolition newspaper. Fear of violence compelled him to leave Danville, and subsequently Cincinnati, whither he had moved. He came to New York, where he was secretary of the American Anti-Slavery Society. In 1840 and 1844 he was the candidate for President of the Liberty party. In 1842 he moved to Michigan, and a fall from his horse disabled him from further political activity.

Black Cockade.—A black cockade worn on the hat was an emblem adopted by the Federalists during the troubles with France in 1797, when war seemed imminent. Its meaning lay in the fact that it had been a part of the Continental uniform during the Revolution, and moreover it served as a contrast to the tri-color cockade of France which the Republicans had affected. "Black Cockade Federalist" was a term of reproach applied to Federalists during the days of the party's decline.

Black Codes. (*See Black Laws.*)

Black Eagle.—In the National Republican Convention of 1884 General John A. Logan, who had been proposed as the Republican candidate for President, was referred to by Judge West, the blind orator of Ohio, as "that grand, old Black Eagle of Illinois."

Black Friday.—On Friday, September 24, 1869, gold sold as high as 162½. It had been quoted at 143⅛ in the Gold Board in New York the previous evening. The rise was in consequence of an attempt by "Jim" Fisk, Jay Gould and others to corner the gold market. It was intended to force gold to 180. This plan was thwarted by the offer of the Secretary of the Treasury late on Friday to sell $4,000,000 of gold to the highest bidder on the next day, and an offer to purchase government bonds to the same amount. The effect of this corner was a violent panic in the stock market; business was upset, for merchants needed gold to pay at the Custom House, and the general aspect was so threatening that the day has been named as above. The Gold Board was so convulsed that its officers deemed it best to suspend business, and the Board remained closed until the Wednesday following.

Black Hawk War. (*See Indian Wars.*)

Black Horse Cavalry is a name given to those legislators (more or less numerous in every legislative body) that act together for the purpose of exacting money from friends of any measure under consideration and threaten its defeat in case of non-compliance. Their number is frequently great enough to be of considerable influence.

Black Jack.—A name by which Major General John A. Logan was known on account of his swarthy complexion, black hair and moustache.

Black Laws.—Laws passed in many of the Northern States before the abolition of slavery requiring certain acts to be performed by free negroes, as a condition to their residing in those States, or prescribing disabilities under which they labored. Such were laws requiring them to file certificates of their freedom; forbidding them to testify in cases in which a white man was interested; excluding them from the militia and from the public schools, and requiring them to give bonds for their good behavior.

Black Republicans.—The Republicans were so-called by their opponents. The term was especially applied by Southerners to anti-slavery members of that party.

Blaine, James Gillespie, was born in Washington County, Pennsylvania, January 31, 1830. He was in early life a journalist. From 1863 to 1875 he was in Congress, being Speaker during the last six years; from 1876 to 1881 he was United States Senator; in 1881 he became Secretary of State under Garfield; soon after Garfield's death he resigned his position. He is a Republican. In 1876 and 1880 he was a prominent candidate for the presidential nomination of his party; in 1884 he was nominated but defeated by a small majority, owing to the defection of a part of the Republican party. (*See Independents.*) In 1888 he wrote a letter saying that his name would not be presented to the convention, and in 1889 became Secretary of State, under Harrison.

Blockade is the prevention of neutral commerce with an enemy's coasts or ports. It is a measure well recognized in international law as justified by the necessities of war. Certain ports or portions of coast may be blockaded, or the blockade may extend to all parts of the enemy's dominions bordering on the sea. One side of a river may be blockaded while the other remains free. It is now well settled that in order to render a neutral vessel liable to the penalty for trying to evade or "run" a blockade the latter must be effective and due notice must be given of it. A cabinet or paper blockade is one that is merely announced or ordered, but which is not or cannot be enforced. Such are not recognized as effective. The blockading nation must maintain a sufficient number of vessels to at least render an attempt to run the blockade hazardous. The notice may be actual, by informing vessels individually as they approach a blockaded coast or by calling on them to leave blockaded waters, or it may be constructive, by giving diplomatic notice to neutral governments. A neutral vessel is equally liable to seizure whether seeking access to or departure from a blockaded region. The penalty is confiscation of the vessel and of the cargo also, if it appears that the latter was the object of the attempted evasion of the blockade. Neutral war ships are sometimes permitted to enter a blockaded port as a matter of comity,

and vessels in danger from stress of weather may seek shelter in such harbor if there be no other refuge. A blockade, when terminated, is said to be raised, and due notice of this fact should be given to neutral governments.

Blockade-Runner.—A term applied to a vessel that endeavors to evade the blockade of a coast or harbor. During the Civil War many vessels succeeded in running the Union blockade of the Southern harbors and coasts, carrying cotton from the Confederates and bringing food supplies and munitions of war to them.

Bloody Bill. (*See Force Bill.*)

Bloody Shirt.—Since the Civil War, politicians of the Republican party have from time to time attempted to draw votes and gain partisan advantages by appeals to the passions raised by that struggle. The phrase, "bloody shirt," is employed in reference to the now dead issues involved in that struggle, and a politician reviving them for partisan purposes is said to "wave the bloody shirt."

Bluebacks.—A name popularly applied to the Confederate currency by reason of its appearance, and to distinguish it from the greenbacks of the North.

Blue Hen.—A name sometimes applied to the State of Delaware, originating, it is said, in a remark of Captain Caldwell, of the First Delaware regiment, that no fighting cock could be truly game whose mother was not a blue hen. The State was once proud of its famous blue hen breed of fighting cocks.

Blue Laws are such as relate to matters that are at present usually left to the private conscience of individuals. Before the Revolution the statute books of the Colonies were full of laws enforcing attendance on church worship, forbidding smoking in the public streets, prohibiting theatres, and the like. Some of the States, the older ones especially, still retain laws forbidding blasphemy and regulating work and travel on Sundays. Connecticut has acquired unpleasant notoriety in this respect. Such Blue Laws as still remain unrepealed in the various States are seldom enforced at the present time.

Blue-Light Federalists.—This term was applied to the Federalist opponents of the war of 1812. The harbor of New London was at that time blockaded by the British. Two frigates, with Decatur in command, were in the harbor, and several attempts on their part to get to sea at night failed. Decatur maintained that on each occasion blue lights had been burned at the mouth of the harbor as signals to the British fleet. It was charged that these signals had been given by Federalists opposed to the war—hence the name.

Blue Lodges.—A name applied to societies organized in Missouri, after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, for the purpose of taking "possession of Kansas on behalf of slavery."

Blue Nose.—A name colloquially given to an inhabitant of Nova Scotia, and sometimes extended to apply to any Canadian.

Bolters.—To bolt means to spring out suddenly, and in political parlance it means to leave a political party when it is no longer deemed safe or to one's interest to remain with it. Those that leave a party under these circumstances are called bolters. A bolt is usually only a temporary defection, the bolters generally being the adherents of some man who aspires to nomination for office, and whose desire is not gratified. It is quite common for a determined minority to threaten to bolt a convention unless its desires are humored.

Boodle was originally a vulgarism for money, and more particularly for booty; a phrase used in bar-rooms and at the street corners. Gradually some of the more vulgar and sensational newspapers begun to make use of it in their articles dealing with the classes that were themselves in the habit of employing the term. Among these, the majority of the Aldermen of New York City were at that time numbered, and the bribes that these were supposed to be in the habit of receiving were referred to under that name. The charges of bribery were brought prominently forward by the investigation in 1886 by a committee of the Assembly into the circumstances attending the grant by the Aldermen in the previous year

of a charter for a street railroad on Broadway in that city. Jacob Sharp, a man largely interested in New York street railroads, was popularly thought to have bribed the Aldermen to grant the franchise. Much interest in the investigation was manifested by the public, and the terms boodle and boodlers were continually used by the newspapers. The general use into which the term was thus brought added to the fact that it is a concise term, tended to purge it of its vulgar associations and to give it standing in the vocabulary of the day. The term boodler is now universally applied to bribe-takers, more particularly to those connected with municipal governments, and most accurately to bribed Aldermen. The New York boodlers were indicted on the strength of the revelations made by the Assembly Committee. Of twenty-four members of the Board of Aldermen two were not bribed, as is proved by their voting against the franchise; two are dead; four have fled to foreign countries; three have turned informers; one is insane; three were convicted and sentenced to Sing Sing Prison; in the case of one the jury disagreed on the first trial and he was finally discharged; the procedings against the others were ultimately dropped. Jacob Sharp was indicted for bribing the Aldermen; he was tried, convicted and imprisoned in the County Jail pending an appeal. The Court of Appeals granted a new trial on the strength of errors in the former, but Sharp died pending the re-hearing.

Border Ruffians.—A name applied to Missourians that (about 1854) made a practice of crossing into Kansas to drive out the Free-State settlers, or to carry the elections. They took no trouble to conceal their illegal voting; in one case 604 votes were cast, of which but twenty were legal. This is but a sample. Encounters between them and the Free-State settlers were frequent.

Border States.—Those of the Slave-States, adjoining the Free-States, were so called; namely: Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky and Missouri, although North Carolina, Tennessee and Arkansas were sometimes included under that name. Their nearness to the Free-

States caused frequent attempts on the part of slaves to escape and from them came the most bitter complaints about the non-execution of fugitive slave laws. They objected to making slavery an issue, and political parties that strove to remain neutral on that subject, as the American and Constitutional Union parties, had their support. During the Rebellion, Virginia was the only one of the Border States proper that seceded.

Border War.—A name applied to the hostilities that took place between the Free-State emigrants to Kansas and the slave-holders from Missouri, when, in 1854, the Kansas-Nebraska Bill left the question of slavery in that Territory to be settled by the inhabitants. Bloody encounters were frequent and several pitched battles were fought.

Boss. (*See Political Boss.*)

Boss Rule is the absolute control of a political organization by one leader or a small set of leaders.

Bounties. (*See Subsidies.*)

Bounty Jumping.—During the Civil War sums of money were at times offered by the authorities as an inducement to volunteers for the army and navy. A person who received this money and then failed to serve as he had promised, was said to be a "bounty-jumper."

Bourbons.—The house of Bourbon is the family of kings that ruled France for over two hundred years, from 1589 to the time of French revolution, 1791. One of their characteristics was an obstinate refusal to keep pace with events. Experience taught them nothing. This trait in their character has caused their name to be applied (in American political parlance) to any statesman or politician that clings to dead issues and refuses to accommodate himself to changes.

Boys, The.—This name is applied to the professional politicians peculiarly common in cities, to whom politics is a business out of which (though seldom holding office themselves) they make a living. By them principally is the politics of cities prostituted, and their efforts to retain control of political matters are frequently successful even in the face of organized opposition, princi-

pally because they rally in defense of their livelihood, while honest citizens, though vitally affected, do not have their own interest in the matter brought home to them with the same force, and are consequently less active and less energetic. Moreover, the local organization is almost exclusively in the hands of these political "workers," as they are called, and even reputable party members, though knowing its corruption, recognize its efficiency in gaining votes, and while they would not personally resort to the means employed, they will yet indirectly give it their support. The organization when in the hands of professional politicians of the above type is known as "the Machine."

Brave. (*See Tamamny*).

Breckenridge, John Cabell, was born at Lexington, Kentucky, January 21, 1825, and died May 17, 1875. He was Vice-President of the United States from 1857 to 1861. He was the presidential candidate of the southern wing of the Democratic party in 1860. He was defeated, but was chosen to the United States Senate. During the extra session of 1861 he was active in the Senate. Then he went over to the Confederacy, and became a Major-General in its service. He was expelled from the Senate, December, 1861.

Brigadiers, Rebel. (*See Rebel Brigadiers.*)

Broad Construction. (*See Construction of the Constitution.*)

Broad Seal War was a controversy as to the election in 1838 of representatives to Congress from New Jersey. In that State up to 1846 all the representatives of the State, six in number, were elected on a general ticket. In 1838 there was a Democratic majority of about one hundred votes in 57,000. Owing to certain irregularities, the State Board of Canvassers gave the certificates under the broad seal of the State to the Whig candidates. As the House without New Jersey's members stood one hundred and eighteen Whigs to one hundred and nineteen Democrats, success in this controversy meant control of the House. After considerable confusion a compromise Speaker was elected and the Democratic members were finally seated.

Brooks, Preston, of South Carolina, is known only for his brutal attack on Senator Charles Sumner on May 22, 1856. Sumner had in debate criticised Senator Butler, Brooks' uncle, whereupon Brooks, backed by two other Representatives, attacked him in the Senate Chamber after adjournment. He used a heavy cane, knocking him senseless, and then brutally beating him; it was several years before Sumner recovered his health. Brooks was censured by the House and resigned, but he was at once unanimously re-elected. Massachusetts refused to elect any one in Sumner's place and the post remained vacant for several years.

Brother Jonathan.—A general name applied to the people of the United States. Its origin is said to be as follows: General Washington found soon after having taken command of the Continental army that it was sadly in need of many articles. Jonathan Trumbull, the elder, at that time Governor of Connecticut, was a friend of Washington and one in whose judgment Washington had great confidence. During a consultation on the state of the army, Washington suggested that they consult "Brother Jonathan," meaning Trumbull. This advice was followed, and Trumbull devised the means of procuring what was desired. The story was told in the army, and the reply to a demand for any article was invariably advice to ask "Brother Jonathan." The phrase became proverbial and has lived to the present time.

Brown, John, was born in Torrington, Connecticut, May 9, 1800. On his father's side he was descended from Peter Brown who had come over in the Mayflower; his ancestors on his mother's side were Dutch. While John was still young, his father moved to Ohio. John returned to New England and began to study for the ministry, but his eyes failing, he was obliged to desist. He then returned to Ohio where he married; he was not yet twenty-one years of age. His first wife, by whom he had seven children, died in 1832. His second wife, who bore him thirteen children, survived him. He did not remain long in Ohio; after various changes of resi-

dence he moved to Massachusetts where he engaged in the wool business. This venture ended in bankruptcy. Gerrit Smith gave him some land at North Elba, Essex County, New York, and in 1849 Brown moved thither with his family. He took with him some freed negroes, but they, losing heart at the sterility of soil, gave up in despair. In 1851 he returned to Ohio. Four of his sons had moved to Kansas, which was then the seat of hot slavery contention, and finding it impossible to get on without arms, they wrote to their father to send such as they needed. John Brown, moving his family back to North Elba, set out for Kansas. His purpose was to free slaves. He belonged to no political party, "he followed neither Garrison nor Seward; . . . . but the Golden Rule and the Declaration of Independence." He plunged into the fight between the Free-State and the Slavery men, and on several occasions defeated forces much larger than his own. Among his notable achievements was his defense of Ossawatomie against a force numbering fifteen times his own, until failing ammunition compelled him to retreat. During this period he freed many slaves, one of his exploits arousing such excitement that the Governor of Missouri offered three thousand dollars for his arrest; to this the President added two hundred and fifty dollars. In January, 1859, he started East, going to Canada, where he and his followers effected a sort of organization. For the next few months he was first East and then West, and the 30th of June found him in Maryland, near Harper's Ferry. Here he and his companions hired a farm to which, without attracting attention, men and arms were smuggled. It was his design to seize the National armory at Harper's Ferry in which over 100,000 stand of arms were stored, and after freeing and arming what negroes he could, to take to the mountains, with which as a base he hoped to repeat his Kansas successes in freeing slaves. Fears of treachery compelled him to hasten his plans, and on Sunday evening, October 17th, the armory was seized by Brown, his force consisting of twenty-two men. Telegraph wires were cut, trains

stopped and over sixty prisoners taken. Instead of fleeing to the mountains, as planned, Brown stood his ground, expecting, it is said, the negroes to rise in his favor. Be that as it may, he was surrounded by over 1,500 militia, besides some marines and artillery, and captured after a desperate fight in which he was severely wounded. His trial, which Brown himself pronounced fair, resulted in his being condemned to death, and on the 2d of December he was hung. The whole incident created enormous excitement and intensified the bitterness between North and South.

Brown's Raid on Harper's Ferry. (*See Brown, John.*)

Buchanan, James, was born in Franklin County, Pennsylvania, April 23, 1791, and died at Wheatland, Pennsylvania, June 1, 1868. He graduated at Dickinson College, and was admitted to the bar. His earliest political career was as a Federalist, but about 1826 he joined the Democratic party. In 1814 he was a member of the Pennsylvania Legislature, and from 1820 to 1830 he was in Congress. In 1830 he went to Russia as Minister, returning in 1834, when he entered the Senate, where he remained until 1845. From 1845 to 1849 he was Secretary of State under Polk, and from 1852 to 1854 he was Minister to Great Britain. He was the Democratic candidate for President in 1856, and he was elected. The Dred Scott decision, John Brown's raid and other events connected with slavery and leading up to the Civil War marked his administration, and it was due to his lack of energy, and his opinion that the federal government could not interfere to keep any State in the Union by force, that the nation was in no condition to meet the crisis. He retired to private life immediately on leaving the presidency.

Buck and Breck.—A popular name for the Democratic presidential nominees in 1856, James Buchanan and John C. Breckenridge.

Buckeyes.—The buckeye tree (a species of horse chestnut) which abounds in Ohio, gave its name to that State and its inhabitants.

Buckshot War.—In 1838 the defeated Democratic candidate of a congressional district in Pennsylvania claimed Whig frauds in the North Liberties district as the cause of his defeat. Thereupon the ten Democratic return judges threw out the vote of that district, thus electing their member. The seven Whig judges met apart from the Democrats and gave certificates to the Whig candidates for Congress, and also to the Whig candidates for the Legislature, although these latter had considered themselves fairly defeated. This proceeding was part of a scheme to elect a Whig senator. The Whig certificates reached the Secretary of State first, and he, also a Whig, declared his intention of recognizing them until discredited by investigation. The House met December 4th at Harrisburg; armed partisans of both sides were in town; two separate organizations of the House took place, side by side, amid great confusion. Governor Ritner, a Whig, declared the city in the hands of a mob, and sought the aid of United States troops from their commander, and then from President Van Buren. In both cases he met with refusal. After a time, several Whigs seceded to the Democratic House, which had succeeded in keeping possession of the chamber and records, and the latter was recognized by the State Senate, when the other Whigs joined them; all but Thaddeus Stevens, who did not attempt to join until May, 1839. The House then declared his seat vacant, and he was obliged to be again elected before he was finally admitted. The remark of a Whig member that the mob "should feel ball and buckshot before the day is over," is said to have given rise to the name.

Bucktails. (*See Clintonians.*)

Bull Run Russell.—A name applied to William H. Russell, war correspondent of the London *Times* in this country in 1861–62, in consequence of his overdrawn description of the battle of Bull Run, and his predictions, based on the result of that battle, that the South would be successful in her attempt at secession.

Bulwer-Clayton Treaty. (*See Clayton-Bulwer Treaty.*)

Buncombe, To Speak For, is to talk for effect, political or otherwise. The phrase originated in the debates on the Missouri Compromise, when Felix Walker, the representative in Congress from the North Carolina district that included the county of Buncombe, insisted on speaking, and when begged to desist by other members of the House, asserted that he had to "make a speech for Buncombe."

Bureaucracy. (*See Civil Service Reform.*)

Burlingame, Anson, was born in New York in 1820. He studied at the University of Michigan, and after graduating from the Harvard Law School, entered the bar. He joined the American party, and was elected to Congress, soon afterwards attaching himself to the Republican party. He was representative in Congress from 1855 to 1861. In 1861 he was appointed Minister to China, where he remained till 1867. He was then appointed by China as a special ambassador to negotiate treaties for that nation. He performed his duties admirably, and concluded treaties with the United States, England, Prussia, Denmark, Sweden and Holland. He died at St. Petersburg in 1870.

Burlingame Treaty, The, was concluded at Washington, July 28, 1868, between the United States and China. It was negotiated for the latter nation by Anson Burlingame in his capacity of special ambassador. By it, China first gave her adherence to principles of international law. Moreover, joint efforts were to be made against the cooley trade; liberty of conscience and worship, and rights of residence and travel, as accorded to the most favored nation, were guaranteed to Chinese in America and Americans in China. The United States disclaimed the right of interference with internal improvements in China.

Burn This Letter.—This was the concluding sentence in one of the Mulligan letters (which see). It was a campaign cry of the opponents of James G. Blaine in the campaign of 1884.

Burr, Aaron, was born at Newark, New Jersey, February 6, 1756, and died at New York, September 14,

1836. He graduated at the College of New Jersey, and served in the Continental army in the Revolution, reaching the rank of colonel. He was subsequently admitted to the bar and moved to New York City. In 1791 he was elected to the United States Senate. He had a genius for political organization, and soon brought his party, the anti-Federalists, into a state of efficient discipline. The Federalists called him, with a small number of young men of his party that gathered about him, the Little Band. It was to his efforts that the success of his party in the presidential contest of 1800 was due. Burr was elected Vice-President, serving from 1801 to 1805. In 1804 a coalition was arranged between the New England Federalists, who were hopeless of victory in the South, and Burr's followers. As a part of this scheme, Burr was first nominated for Governor against the candidate of the Clintons, the Livingstons and the Schuylers, the great New York families that had been supreme in that State. Alexander Hamilton's personal efforts did much to defeat Burr; the celebrated duel between the two followed, ending, as is well known, in Hamilton's death. This is the last of Burr in politics. He was subsequently arrested on a charge of treason, based on an expedition to the West, the design of which was said to be the establishment of another republic west of the Rocky Mountains. He was acquitted. After several years spent abroad, he settled down to the practice of law in New York City.

Burr Conspiracy.—In consequence of Burr's duel with Hamilton, in which the latter met his death, Burr was indicted in New York and New Jersey for murder. He went West and made an extensive tour, in the course of which he made preparations for a gigantic but mysterious scheme. The real object of this is unknown. It was either to separate the Mississippi Valley from the rest of the Union and erect it into a new nation, or to conquer Mexico. In 1806 he gathered a number of reckless persons about him and started for the region of Texas, ostensibly on a colonizing expedition. President Jefferson issued a proclamation warning citizens against

joining the expedition. Burr was arrested by Jefferson's orders, brought back to Virginia, and indicted there by a United States Grand Jury for treason and for a misdemeanor, based on his course in levying war within this country on a friendly nation, but it was hoped that Burr could also be shown to have had treasonable designs against the unity of this country. He was acquitted of treason for want of jurisdiction, on the failure of the evidence required by Article 3, section 3, clause 1 of the Constitution; he was also acquitted of misdemeanor. He was bound over to present himself for trial in Ohio, but the matter was pressed no further. One of Burr's dupes in this scheme was Harman Blennerhasset, who was also arrested, but who was discharged after Burr's acquittal.

Burrites. (*See Clintonians.*)

Butler, Benjamin F., was born at Deerfield, New Hampshire, November 5, 1818. He graduated at Waterville College and was admitted to the bar. In 1853 he was elected to the State Legislature, and in 1859 to the State Senate. Before 1860 he was a Democrat. He served in the Civil War as brigadier and major-general. He then figured in Congress as a Republican from 1867 to 1875 and from 1877 to 1879, representing Massachusetts. In 1878 and 1879 he ran for Governor as the candidate of the Greenback party. In 1882 he was elected Governor as the Democratic nominee. In 1884 he was the presidential candidate of both the Greenback-Labor and Anti-Monopoly parties. He received about 133,000 popular and no electoral votes. He was one of the managers on the part of the House of Representatives of the impeachment of President Andrew Johnson.

By the Eternal.—This, the favorite oath of Andrew Jackson, has become historic.

Cabinet.—This name is applied to the heads of the seven executive departments in their capacity of advisers of the President. The term itself is not mentioned in the Constitution, nor was the Cabinet, as at present constituted, contemplated by that instrument. The Constitution, Article 2, section 2, authorizes the President

to "require the opinion in writing of the principal officer in each of the executive departments upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices," and Washington on several occasions called for such opinions. But the nature of the Cabinet underwent a gradual change, and it is now an advisory board with which the President has consultations at regular intervals on the affairs of the nation. Washington inaugurated this change, consulting the members on matters foreign to their immediate departments on several occasions. Moreover, from being merely the heads of the executive departments its members have come to be recognized as an essential part of the executive branch and in certain contingencies the office of President devolves upon one of their number. (*See Presidential Succession.*) The plan has frequently been broached of giving to the members of the Cabinet seats in one of the Houses of Congress, either with or without a vote, in order that the demands for legislation or appropriations on the part of the Executive may be more easily explained and urged, and that information demanded by Congress may be more easily obtained. In the Constitution of the Confederate States authority was granted to Congress to give a seat in either House, with the right of debate in any measure relating to his department, to the members of the Cabinet. The Cabinet as originally constituted consisted of but four members, the Secretary of State, Secretary of War, Secretary of the Treasury and the Attorney-General. Since then there have been added the Secretary of the Navy and of the Interior and the Postmaster-General and the Secretary of Agriculture, who are only by custom members of the Cabinet. The salary of every Cabinet officer is $8,000 per annum.

Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles I. his Cromwell, and George III.—may profit by their examples. If that be treason, make the most of it.—Patrick Henry introduced into the Assembly of Virginia a resolution denying the right of the King of England to tax the American Colonies. This resolution

was called forth by the Stamp Act of 1765. In the course of debate he spoke as above. At the words, "and George III.," he was interrupted by cries of "Treason! Treason!" and, waiting for the cries to subside, he finished as above.

Calhoun, John Caldwell, was born in the Abbeville District, South Carolina, March 18, 1782, and died in Washington, March 31, 1850. He was a lawyer and a graduate of Yale. He was a representative in Congress from 1811 to 1817; then he became Secretary of War. From 1825 to 1831 he was Vice-President. In 1831 he resigned for the purpose of becoming Senator from South Carolina in order to take part in the debate then raging in the Senate. (*See Foot's Resolution.*) The intensity of the excitement in South Carolina is exemplified by the fact that medals were struck in his honor bearing the inscription, "First President of the Southern Confederacy." From 1843 to 1845 he was Secretary of State. In the latter year he again became Senator. In politics he was a Democrat, although for a short time allied with the Whigs at the time of their first organization, but above all party ties he was a firm and consistent upholder of the doctrine of State Sovereignty. He believed the Union to be merely a number of sovereign and separate States joined by an alliance under a single government. He considered slavery a righteous and beneficent institution, and considered it the duty of Congress to protect and uphold it in the Territories.

Calico Foster.—A name given to Charles Foster, of Ohio (Governor 1880 to 1884), in allusion to his having kept a dry-goods store in earlier life

California.—During the Mexican War, California was conquered by our troops (*see Annexations IV.*) and a provisional military government formed, which continued in existence after the peace of 1848 till the admission of the State into the Union, September 9, 1850. The capital is Sacramento. The population in 1880 was 864,694, and in the last census (1890) 1,208,130. California sends six members to the House of Repre-

sentatives and has eight electoral votes. In national politics California is generally considered a Republican State. Its electoral vote was cast for the Republican candidate for President between 1860 and 1884, except in 1880, when all but one of the Democratic electors were chosen by a small majority. The derivation of its name is uncertain, but is supposed by some to come from the Spanish and to mean "hot furnace." Popularly it is known as the Golden State, in allusion to the large deposits of gold found in its soil. (*See Governors; Legislatures.*)

Canadian Rebellion.—In 1837 an insurrection took place in Canada, many of the inhabitants being dissatisfied with governmental methods. The rebellion was completely crushed in about a year. It is of interest in our history because it threatened to cause international complications between Great Britain and the United States. Many inhabitants of this country, largely those of Irish extraction, sympathized with the Canadians and sought to aid them. In spite of the fact that our government declared its strict neutrality, about 700 men, chiefly from New York State, under the lead of Mackenzie, one of the leaders of the Canadian revolt, seized and fortified Navy Island, situated in the Niagara River and within British jurisdiction. They made this a base of operations for raids on the Canadian shore until they were forced to evacuate by a battery of guns on the Canadian side. The steamer Caroline, which they had made use of, was seized by the Canadian militia at a wharf on the American side of the river, and sent, on fire, over Niagara Falls. (*See McLeod Case.*) Our government sent General Scott with a force of soldiers to prevent infractions of our neutral position.

Canal Ring.—In 1874 Samuel J. Tilden was elected Governor of the State of New York. He had been prominent in the overthrow of the Tweed Ring in New York City, and his suspicions had been directed against the management of the State canals. His first annual message to the Legislature called attention to the system of canal repairs. This subject had been under in-

vestigation some five years earlier, but nothing had come of it. Tilden had made extensive inquiries and was able to present facts to the Legislature showing that vast sums had been fraudulently expended and wasted on the work of repairs. Ostensibly, contracts for this work were given out to the lowest bidder; but these lowest bidders so arranged their bids that while some materials were contracted for at ridiculously low figures, others were put in at monstrously high prices; the contracts were then, by collusion with the authorities, altered so as to require much of the expensive and little or none of the cheap material, this altered contract being by the conspirators not regarded as a new one (which it was, in fact), and, therefore, not again offered subject to competition. In his message the Governor showed that on ten contracts, ostensibly let for about $425,000, there had been paid about $1,560,000. He pointed out that while the books had shown an apparent surplus of canal revenues over expenditures of about $5,800,000 for a period of five years, there had actually been a deficiency of $5,100,000. His vigorous measures succeeded in breaking up the Ring and lead to the passage of laws securing the State from that quarter in the future.

Canal Scrip Fraud.—In 1839 the Canal Trustees of the State of Illinois issued about $390,000 of Canal Scrip, payable in ninety days. This had practically all been presented for redemption before 1843, but, as subsequently appeared, the certificates had simply been laid away and not canceled. In 1859 some of the scrip appeared in circulation, and a legislative inquiry revealed the fact that $223,182.66 of these redeemed but uncanceled certificates had been re-issued by Governor Joel A. Matteson. As soon as his name was connected with the matter, Matteson offered to make good any loss to the State, while at the same time maintaining that he had acquired the scrip by investment. The legislative committee was not disposed to press the matter, and although the Grand Jury of Sangamon County had voted to indict him, the vote was reconsidered and the matter dropped. The State was reimbursed for all but a small part of its loss.

Capital of the United States.—The first national capital was New York City. The agricultural members of Congress desired a change, because they feared the influence of surrounding commercial interests on legistion. Philadelphia was objected to by the Southern members, because the Quakers were urging the abolition of slavery. A compromise was finally made by which the capital was to be Philadelphia for ten years, and after that, a district ceded by Maryland and Virginia to the National Government. Accordingly the seat of government was removed to Philadelphia in 1790. In the meantime Maryland, in 1788, and Virginia, in 1789, had ceded a district ten miles square lying on both sides of the Potomac, which was first known as the Federal City and afterward, in 1791, obtained the name of the Territory of Columbia, the city being known as the City of Washington. On November 17, 1800, the Government was removed to Washington, where it has since remained. The city at that time was a curious combination of huts and half-finished buildings of greater pretension, with a small population. (*See District of Columbia.*)

Carlisle, John Griffin, was born in Kentucky, September 5, 1835. He is a lawyer by profession. He served in the State Legislature, both in the House and the Senate, from 1859 to 1861, and from 1869 to 1871. In the latter year he was elected Lieutenant-Governor. He was elected to the Forty-fifth, Forty-sixth, Forty-seventh, Forty-eighth, Forty-ninth and Fiftieth Congresses, the last time after a contest. In 1883 he was elected Speaker, and was re-elected to that office in the Forty-ninth and Fiftieth Congresses. He is a Democrat.

Carpet-Baggers.—A name given by the Southern whites to the Northern whites that, after the Civil War, came South and took an active part in politics. Many held Federal offices and others came for the purpose of qualifying for elective offices by means of a short residence. The name arose from the fact that few of them intended to settle permanently, but carried (it was said) their effects in a carpet-bag. It was they that organized and largely controlled the negro vote.

Cartel is an agreement between belligerent States relating to the methods of carrying on the war, as for the exchange of prisoners, declaring certain ground neutral, repressing marauders, carrying on postal communication, or the like. A cartel-ship (sometimes simply called a cartel) is one used in exchanging prisoners or carrying communications to the enemy. Cartels for the exchange of prisoners are perhaps the most common. These are usually concluded by the two governments, but generals may treat with each other directly. An exchange of prisoners is beneficial to each side, which thereby recovers its own men and is saved the trouble and expense of guarding and feeding its captives. In an exchange, the rank of the prisoners is taken into account, and so far as possible, man is exchanged for man of equal rank.

Cass, Lewis, was born at Exeter, New Hampshire, October 9, 1782, and died at Detroit, June 17, 1866. He was a lawyer. During the War of 1812 he rose to the rank of Brigadier-General; from 1813 to 1831 he was Governor of Michigan Territory; under Jackson he was Secretary of War; under Buchanan, Secretary of State; from 1845 to 1857 he was United States Senator from Michigan. In 1848 he was a candidate for President. In politics he was a Democrat.

Cast an Anchor to the Windward.—This phrase occurs in one of the Mulligan Letters (*which see*).

Casus Belli is a Latin phrase meaning a reason for war. Nations usually seek to justify a war by announcing a cause for it, but the pretexts are various, and international law has not yet decided which shall be considered as sufficient justifications.

Caucus.—This word is variously derived, but it is most probably a corruption of the word caulkers, a term derisively applied to those that attended political meetings in Boston at the time of ill-feeling between the citizens and the British troops before the Revolution. Laborers in ship-yards and seafaring men are said to have been numerous at these meetings, hence the term. The term has now come to be applied to any political

meeting held for the purpose of determining the will of the majority of the party for the purpose of united action in the face of opponents. In the earlier years of the government, presidential nominations were made by a caucus of the Congressmen of a party. (*See Congressional Caucus.*) In 1824 this system came to an end. In 1828 nominations were made by the Legislatures of the States, and thereafter by the present system of nominating conventions. A legislative Caucus is the meeting of the members of a party (usually the party in the majority) for the purpose of united action in the legislative chamber. Divisions in the party while in the latter might cause the adoption of a measure advocated by the minority of the dominant party with whom the minority party might join. The legislative caucus began to make its appearance in national politics about the year 1805. It has transferred the contest of important matters from the legislative hall to the caucus meeting, and has perverted the intention of the Constitution by practically placing the control of the legislative branch into the hands of the majority of the majority, which may, in fact, be a minority. All elections held by legislative bodies, as of the Speaker in the House of Representatives, or of a United States Senator in a State Legislature, are determined in that manner, the election in the legislative chamber being merely the formal registering of the caucus decisions.

The local meetings held by the members of a party for the purpose of naming local candidates, or delegates to larger political assemblies, were formerly called caucuses, and are still so called in some portions of the country. The name of Primary Elections is, however, more generally applied to them, and under that head they are treated.

Caucus, The Congressional.—In the first three presidential elections the electors were untrammeled by pledges, except such as may have been given by individual members. In the election for the fourth term in 1800 and thereafter through the election of 1824, the

electors were the mere puppets of the Congressional Caucus. The Congressional Caucus was a caucus of the members of Congress of either political party, and by it were determined the candidates for whom the electors of that party should vote. To clear themselves of the charge of arrogating to themselves powers not intended to be exercised by them, the caucus on several occasions declared that the members acted "only in their individual character as citizens." In 1820 the Republican caucus met but took no action; the Federal party was all but dead. In 1824 less than one-fourth of the members attended the Republican caucus, and in this year the system came to an end. At the next election the State Legislatures nominated the candidates, and in 1832 the present system of nominating conventions composed of members more or less directly selected by the people came into use.

Censures of the President by Congress.—Two resolutions of censure on the President have been passed, once by the Senate and once by the House, on occasions where the majority passing these resolutions was not sufficiently large either to pass measures over the President's veto or to impeach him. The first was passed by the Senate March 28, 1834, censuring President Jackson for a violation of the Constitution and laws in the removal of government deposits from the United States Bank. (*See Removal of Government Deposits, &c.*) The President protested against this resolution as a charge to answer which no opportunity could be afforded him. The Senate refused to receive the protest. Finally, January 16, 1837, after unsuccessful attempts for three years the resolution of censure was expunged from the journal of the Senate. The second occasion was in a report from the committee to which President Tyler's message vetoing the Tariff Bill of 1842 had been referred. The report censured the President for improper use of the veto. Tyler protested against this as Jackson had done before him, but he had as a member of the Senate voted against the reception of Jackson's protest, and in answer to his protest the

House sent him a copy of the Senate resolution on the former occasion.

Census. (*See Population.*)

Centralization. (*See Construction of the Constitution.*)

Center of Population.—The following table gives approximately the center of population of the United States at each census, showing the westward tendency of our national development, which has been due partly to annexations of territory and partly to fresh settlers:

YEARS.	APPROXIMATE LOCATION.	WESTWARD MOVEMENT.
1790	23 miles East of Baltimore	
1800	18 miles West of Baltimore	41 miles.
1810	40 miles West Northwest of Washington	36 miles.
1820	16 miles North of Woodstock	50 miles.
1830	19 miles West Southwest of Moorefield	39 miles.
1840	16 miles South of Clarksburg	55 miles.
1850	23 miles Southeast of Parkersburg	55 miles.
1860	20 miles South of Chillicothe	81 miles.
1870	48 miles East by North of Cincinnati	42 miles.
1880	8 miles West by South of Cincinnati	56 miles.
1890	20 miles East of Columbus, Ind	46 miles.

Channels, Various, In Which I know I Can be Useful. (*See I Do Not Feel that I Shall Prove a Deadhead, etc.*)

Chase, Salmon Portland, was born at Cornish, New Hampshire, January 13, 1808, and died May 7, 1873. He graduated at Dartmouth, and was admitted to the bar in Ohio. Although a Democrat, he acted with the Liberty party and the Free-Soil party. From 1849 to 1855 he was United States Senator from Ohio, being elected by a coalition of Democrats and Free-Soilers. From 1856 to 1860 he was Governor of Ohio, being elected as a Republican. From 1861 to 1864 he was Secretary of the Treasury during the most trying time in our history. From 1864 to 1873 he was Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. In 1868 his refusal to mould the expression of his views on questions connected with the suffrage cost him the presidential nomination at the hands of the Democratic party.

Checks and Balances.—This phrase refers to those features of our system of national government whereby each branch of the government acts as a check or bal-

ance on the others in securing laws desired by the people and in accordance with the Constitution, and in securing their proper enforcement. Thus the Senate which, by reason of the longer terms of its members, and their election by the State Legislatures and not by the people directly, is not so likely to be influenced by the popular whims and prejudices of the moment as the House of Representatives, acts as a check on attempts at hasty or demagogic action by the latter. The House, reflecting more immediately the popular will, is a check on legislation which might be proposed by the Senate in defiance of the principles of a government according to the wishes of a majority of the people. The veto power of the President is a check on hasty or improper action by Congress, but cannot prevent the passage of laws for which there is an overwhelming demand, as shown by a two-thirds majority of both houses; and should the President fail to execute the laws or otherwise misconduct the duties of his office, he is liable to impeachment. Lastly, the Supreme Court of the United States is the final arbiter of the constitutionality of enacted laws, which cannot be enforced should it decide that these violate the Constitution.

Cheeseparing is a word used to characterize the kind of national economy advocated by some public men who would effect a saving in places where justice and foresight demand liberality, while, moreover, the amount so saved would be insignificant. Examples of this are opposition to steps for increasing the salaries of judges in cities, or reductions of the salaries of foreign ministers who must in their persons represent the government.

Cherokee Case.—The Indian tribes known as the "Creeks" and the "Cherokees" possessed large tracts of land in what are now the States of Georgia and North Carolina, and the territory to the west of them. From time to time treaties had been made with these Indians by which much of this land had been ceded to the United States. Among these were the Hopewell treaty of 1785, and the Holston treaty of 1791; the first of these instruments had, among other things, recognized

the Cherokees as a nation possessing its own laws and all the other attributes of nationality; the second had guaranteed to them all lands not thereby ceded. When Georgia in 1802 ceded her western territory to the United States, the latter agreed to extinguish Indian titles to lands in the State proper as soon as it could peaceably and reasonably be done, but the Cherokees could not be induced to surrender their lands. The State therefore claimed the right to extend its own laws over all its territory, and passed acts depriving the Cherokees of their courts and other machinery of government; these were followed by acts dividing the Cherokee land into counties, and after allotting 160 acres to each head of a Cherokee family, providing for the distribution of the remainder by lot among the people of the State. Notwithstanding the treaties, President Jackson took the ground that as the State was sovereign the United States could not interfere. The question now came up before the United States Supreme Court in the following way. A Cherokee named Tassels was sentenced to be hanged, under the laws of Georgia, for killing another Indian on the Cherokee lands. The United States Supreme Court granted a writ of error requiring the State to show cause why the case should not go to the Cherokee courts. This writ was disregarded, and the Indian was hung. There the matter was dropped. Again, two missionaries were convicted of entering the Cherokee territory without having complied with certain requirements demanded by Georgia enactments regarding these lands. Their case was carried to the United States Supreme Court on a writ of error, and the judgment of the court held the provisions of our Indian treaties as paramount to the State laws. But the decision was never enforced. Jackson is reported to have said: "Well, John Marshall (the Chief Justice) has made his decision; now let him enforce it." The Cherokee case is important as the first instance of successful nullification of United States laws by a State. The Indians were finally persuaded to move to the Indian Territory, and by 1838 the last had left the State.

Chief Justice is the title of the presiding Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. (*See Judiciary.*) His salary is $10,500 per annum. The following is a list of the persons appointed as Chief-Justices from the establishment of the court, some of whom, however, being rejected by the Senate, or, declining the position, never served in the office:

John Jay, of New York, appointed by Washington, September 26, 1789; resigned, 1791.
John Rutledge, of South Carolina, appointed by Washington, July 1, 1795; rejected by the Senate, December 15, 1795.
William Cushing, of Massachusetts, appointed by Washington, January 26, 1796; declined promotion from his associate justiceship.
Oliver Ellsworth, of Connecticut, appointed by Washington, March 4, 1796; resigned, 1800.
John Jay, of New York, appointed by John Adams, December 19, 1800; declined.
John Marshall, of Virginia, appointed by John Adams, January 31, 1801; died, July 6, 1835.
Roger Brooke Taney, of Maryland, appointed by Jackson, March 15, 1836; died, October 12, 1864.
Salmon Portland Chase, of Ohio, appointed by Lincoln, December 6, 1864; died, May 7, 1873.
George H. Williams, of Oregon, appointed by Grant, 1873; rejected.
Caleb Cushing, of Massachusetts, appointed by Grant, 1873; rejected.
Morrison R. Waite, of Ohio, appointed by Grant, January 21, 1874; died March 23, 1888.
Melville W. Fuller, of Illinois, appointed by Cleveland, July 20, 1888.

Chilian and Peruvian Difficulties. (*See Peruvian Guano Troubles.*)

Chinese Must Go.—A cry raised by the inhabitants of the Pacific Slope, especially the laboring men, during the discussion of the Chinese question (*which see*).

Chinese Question.—The development of our Pacific Coast after the discovery of gold in California created a demand for labor which exceeded the supply. Soon Chinamen began to cross the ocean and settle on our western coast. The means necessary to enable them to live in a state comfortable to themselves being small, they soon underbid white laborers and supplanted them in many kinds of work. An outcry was raised by the white population against permitting this competition, which they claimed was unfair. Local legislation attempted to impede the coming of the Chinese, but the United States Courts decided such laws invalid. Then Congress was applied to. It was argued that the Chinese laborers—coolies, as they were called—would

drive out white laborers because they could underbid white labor; that they could do this because they could live and be happy on a pittance that would not enable white workmen to live in decency. It was said that the Chinese were an inferior race in morals and physique; that so far from being desirous of assimilating themselves to our institutions, they were inseparably attached to their own civilization and regarded us as barbarians; that they did not inter-marry, and did not come here with the intention of becoming citizens and residing permanently in this country. Those who insisted that "the Chinese must go," asserted that the Chinese came here under the guidance of what were known as the Six Companies; that these organizations controlled them absolutely in trade, in labor, and politically; that they thus formed a government within our government, and not in unison with it. As a consequence of these arguments, it was urged that the government should restrict Chinese immigration in justice to white laborers, for its own safety and for the welfare of the people at large. On the other hand, it was argued that the Chinese were an honest, quiet, industrious, thrifty and ingenious people; that their peculiar habits and customs would gradually disappear in this country; that the wealth of the nation would be increased by the employment of cheaper labor as it would by using labor-saving machinery, and that it was not in accordance with our national policy of welcoming the oppressed of all nations to refuse to receive the Chinese alone, who would come into harmony with our institutions as speedily as many immigrants from Europe who were freely admitted. The West brought such strong pressure to bear on Congress, that in February, 1879, a bill was passed limiting the number of Chinese passengers that could be brought to this country in a single vessel. Hayes vetoed the bill in March as violating treaty stipulations, and the attempt to pass it over the veto was a failure. Soon afterward a commission was appointed which negotiated a treaty with China (ratified by the Senate in May, 1881), giving the United States power to limit or sus-

pend, but not to prohibit the immigration or residence of Chinese laborers, but reserving to other Chinamen and to laborers then in the United States all the privileges of subjects of the most favored nations. In 1882 a bill was passed prohibiting Chinese immigration. This was vetoed by Arthur in April as violating the treaty. The bill was at once modified and again passed, and this time it received the President's approval and became a law on May 6, 1882. This bill (as amended July 5, 1884) suspends the immigration of Chinese laborers for ten years, requires that other Chinamen visiting this country shall be provided with proper certificates, and prescribes various penalties for violations of its provisions. Chinese officers on diplomatic business, and their servants, are excepted from the provisions of the law. In 1870 there were 63,254 Chinese in the United States. The census of 1880 showed 105,700; of these California had 75,122, and most of the remainder were in Oregon, Nevada, Idaho, Washington Territory, Montana and Arizona.

Cimarron.—The northwestern corner of Indian Territory is reserved for public lands of the United States. It is sometimes called "No Man's Land," because almost unsettled and belonging to no private individuals. Recently, settlers from Kansas and Colorado have removed thither and taken up their abode there. They have asked that the region be made into a Territory, and at no great distance in the future the public land strip with a portion of Indian Territory may be so organized. The name proposed for this district is Cimarron.

Cincinnatus of the West.—It is narrated by an ancient historian, though the story is discredited by modern ones, that on an occasion when Rome was in great danger and Lucius Quintius Cincinnatus had been made dictator to deliver her from danger, the message of his appointment found him at the plow. It is in allusion to this that William Henry Harrison was spoken of as the "Cincinnatus of the West" when he was called to the presidency from his estate on the Ohio River. Washington is sometimes called the "Second Cincinnatus," because

he came from his retirement at Mount Vernon to assume the presidency.

Cipher Dispatches.—The presidential election of 1876 was long doubtful; the change of a single electoral vote would have turned the result. After the election a number of cipher dispatches were discovered which, on translation, proved to have been sent by persons closely identified with Samuel J. Tilden, relating to corrupt agreements for the purchase of electoral votes in Florida and Oregon for the Democratic party. The allegations were investigated by a congressional committee, which concluded that while at least one of the Florida Canvassing Board was purchasable, still, that Tilden was not implicated in any attempts to purchase him, even if these were made. The minority report, being that of the Republican members of the investigating committee, concluded that the charges of corruptibility on the part of members of canvassing boards were "but the slanders of foiled suborners of corruption." They regarded the proofs of attempted corruption as conclusive, and did not hesitate to indicate their belief that Tilden had knowledge of the matter. In a card dated October 16, 1878, Tilden denied in most emphatic terms all connection with the matter. (For the settlement of the election see *Electoral Commission.*)

Circle, The. (*See American Knights.*)

Circle of Honor. (*See American Knights.*)

Circuit Court. (*See Judiciary.*)

Citess.—Feminine form of citizen (*which see*).

Cities, Familiar Names of.—Baltimore, Maryland—Monumental City. Boston, Massachusetts—Hub of the Universe; Athens of America; Modern Athens; Cradle of Liberty; City of Notions; Puritan City. Brooklyn, New York—City of Churches. Buffalo, New York—Queen City of the Lakes. Chicago, Illinois—Garden City. Cincinnati, Ohio—Queen City. Cleveland, Ohio—Forest City. Detroit, Michigan—City of the Straits. Indianapolis, Indiana—Railroad City. Kansas City, Missouri—City of Bluffs. Keokuk, Iowa—Gate City. Louisville, Kentucky—Falls City. Lowell, Massachu-

setts—City of Spindles. Milwaukee, Wisconsin—Cream City. Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minnesota—Twin Cities. Nashville, Tennessee—City of Rocks. New Haven, Connecticut—City of Elms; Elm City. New Orleans, Louisiana—Crescent City. New York City, New York—Empire City; Gotham; Metropolis of America. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania—City of Brotherly Love; Quaker City. Pittsburg, Pennsylvania—Smoky City; Iron City. Portland, Maine—Forest City. Rochester, New York—Flour City. Springfield, Illinois—Flower City. St. Louis, Missouri—Mound City. St. Paul and Minneapolis, Minnesota—Twin Cities. Washington, District of Columbia—City of Magnificent Distances.

Citizen.—A term used instead of Mr., Sir, Dr. and any other titles, during the end of the last century, when a wave of ultra-Republicanism swept over the country. It was in imitation of the custom in France.

Citizenship.—A citizen is a member of a commonwealth who is entitled to full protection in the enjoyment of what are called private rights. The fourteenth amendment to the Constitution declares that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State in which they reside." The term in its broad sense includes both women and children, and the right to vote is not an inherent privilege of citizenship. (*See Suffrage; Qualifications of Voters*). Children of citizens born abroad are citizens without naturalization. Minor children of naturalized citizens become citizens by the naturalization of their parents. All citizens whether so by birth or naturalization, are entitled when in foreign countries to the full protection of this government as to their persons and property. The States cannot deprive of citizenship any person declared by the Constitution to be entitled to it, but they may extend citizenship in the State to others as well; this is often done to persons who have declared their intention of becoming citizens, but who have not yet been naturalized The act of July 14, 1870, practically

precluded the admission of Chinese to citizenship. The only points in which a naturalized citizen is not on an equal basis with a native-born citizen, are that he can never be eligible as President or Vice-President, and that he cannot become a Senator till he has been a citizen of the United States nine years, nor a Representative till he has been a citizen seven years. (Constitution, Article 2, section 1, clause 5; Article 1, section 3, clause 3, and Article 1, section 1, clause 2.) (*See Naturalization.*)

Citizens' Law and Order League of the United States.—This is an organization having for its aims to enforce existing laws that are often disregarded, and to secure the passage of additional legislation, especially in regard to restricting the sale of liquor, preventing its sale to minors and on Sunday, and the like. Its work is done chiefly through the local Law and Order Leagues.

Civil Rights Bill was introduced into Congress in 1866. Its object was to protect the civil rights of the Southern negroes, then recently emancipated. It declared all persons born in the United States and not subject to a foreign power, except Indians, to be citizens enjoying the same rights as white citizens in regard to property, contracts, and entitled to all the civil rights of citizens. A violation of the civil rights of the citizens before mentioned was made a misdemeanor, the cognizance of which was given exclusively to the Federal courts; Federal officers were designated to enforce the execution of the law; the President was empowered to send these officers to any point at which such violations were feared, and to use the military and naval forces of the United States, or militia, in enforcing the act. President Johnson vetoed the act March 27th, and early in April it was passed over the veto. An amendment to this act, seeking to prevent discrimination against negroes on the part of common carriers, inn-keepers, theater managers and school-teachers was proposed as an amendment to the Amnesty Act of 1872 by Senator Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, but it failed. A

similar bill failed in December, 1872, and again in April, 1874; at length March 1, 1875, the bill became a law. In October, 1883, the Supreme Court declared as much of the act of 1875 as related to its operation in the States to be unconstitutional, leaving its operation unhampered in the District of Columbia and the Territories.

Civil Service Reform.—The civil service of the United States includes all, except military and naval officers, but in general use the term is applied only to appointive officers in the executive branch of the government and not to those in the legislative and judicial departments. It seems to have been the intention of the founders of our government that civil officers should retain their positions during good behavior. Jefferson was the first President to depart from this policy and to inaugurate the system of removals and appointments for political reasons; in a letter to a committee of New Haven merchants on this subject in 1801, he used the following well-known sentences: "If a due participation of office is a matter of right, how are vacancies to be obtained? Those by death are few; by resignation none." (This is sometimes wrongly quoted, "Few die and none resign.") But the system of removing and appointing public officials for political reasons only was not thoroughly inaugurated till Jackson's time. Then was introduced from New York politics the full depth and breadth of the "spoils system," so called from the phrase descriptive of its aims, "to the victor belong the spoils of the enemy" (*which see*); from that time on public office was considered a reward for party service. Jackson maintained that every citizen had an equal right to public office; he advocated "rotation in office," which involved frequent changes; and his removals numbered far more than those of all previous Presidents together. These doctrines have been defended on the ground that a long tenure of office creates a bureaucracy of office-holders, who forget that they are servants of the public, who assume an undue importance in their own estimation to the annoyance and obstruction of the

public, and who are loath to adopt new and improved methods of transacting business; it is also claimed that the officers of an administration should be in sympathy with its policy which the people have approved by their suffrage. The real reason, however, of the support for so long by politicians of the doctrine of rotation in office, seems to have been the desire to have at their command rewards for the political services of their followers, a patronage, by the promise of which they might aid their efforts at elections. Many politicians, however, have come to see that the advantages to them of the spoils system are accompanied by great disadvantages; their lives are made burdensome by constant solicitations for their influence in obtaining office for their friends and constituents. Added to this the civil service reformers have urged more weighty reasons. They maintain that public office is a public trust; that it should be conducted as economically and efficiently as possible; that the sole way of accomplishing these ends is to appoint to office only persons who are duly qualified, to promote them as they show themselves worthy, and to remove them only for misconduct or inefficiency; thus office-holders will be encouraged to devote themselves in earnest to their work. They assert that only a few important officials need to be changed with each administration in order to insure the adequate carrying out of its policy, and the subordinates should be free from the fear of removal for partisan reasons, which is entirely unnecessary. They point to the great success in every way which the adoption of these principles in the British civil service has effected. Another great evil of the spoils system was political assessments; as a condition of retaining their positions officials were made to contribute largely to the campaign fund of the party which was in power, thus infringing their individual rights and increasing the means of corruption in elections. It gradually came to be felt by the better class of citizens that these evils must be cured. The first important step in this direction was taken by the act of 1871 which appointed a civil service commission to ascertain the fitness

of candidates for public office; but Congress soon refused appropriations for it; its work was consequently suspended, and it proved of little value except in paving the way for a more complete measure. About the same time competitive examinations were commenced by the Naval Officer at New York, and the Custom House at that place gradually came to adopt the system with excellent effect; but this was a merely local attempt and not required by law. Notwithstanding Grant's message to Congress urging the support of the commission authorized in 1871, the messages of Hayes, Garfield and Arthur calling for an efficient measure to reform the civil service, and executive orders forbidding political assessments (which orders soon became dead letters), nothing was accomplished till the latter part of 1882. Then a bill (often known as the Pendleton Bill) was introduced by a Democrat, Senator Pendleton, for reforming the civil service. It passed the Senate December 27th by a vote of thirty-eight to five; of the majority twenty-three were Republicans, fourteen Democrats and one Independent; of the minority all were Democrats. The House passed the bill on January 5, 1883, by a vote of one hundred and fifty-five to forty-seven; of the majority one hundred and one were Republicans, forty-nine Democrats and five Independents; of the minority seven were Republicans, thirty-nine Democrats and one Independent. It was approved by President Arthur January 16, 1883. This bill prohibited all political assessments and the appointment of more than two members of the same family to public office. It created a Civil Service Commission, consisting of three persons, not more than two from one political party, to be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate; the present commission consists of Theo. Roosevelt of New York; H. S. Thompson of S. Carolina, and Chas. Lyman, of Connecticut. The rules framed by the commission for carrying out the purposes of the act are subject to the approval of the President. The act applies to offices of more than fifty persons in the departments at Washington and in the customs and postal

services, with certain exceptions, such as confidential clerks of heads of departments or offices, cashiers, and some other financial positions, deputy collectors, chiefs of bureaus or divisions, professional officers, officers required to be confirmed by the Senate, laborers and workmen. Local examining boards are appointed by the commission from officials at the respective places. Open and competitive examinations are held, but non-competitive examinations may be held when competent persons do not compete after due notice. Vacancies are filled by the selection of one of the four highest names on the eligible list, which are furnished to the appointing officer; persons honorably discharged from the army and navy are given a preference in appointments. Appointments are made for a probationary term of six months and are made permanent, subject to removal for cause, if the probationer has proved satisfactory. Promotions are also made as the result of examinations. The workings of this act have proved successful in the main in raising the efficiency of the service, and some of the States have adopted in their own jurisdictions similar systems. Both the Democratic and Republican party in their platforms uphold the principles of Civil Service Reform, but accusations of partial execution of the act will probably continue to be made against the party in power for the time being. (*See Term and Tenure of Office.*)

Civil War, otherwise called the Rebellion.—The essential cause of the Civil War was slavery; the ostensible reason, the doctrine of State Rights; the final pretext, the election of Lincoln. The growth of slavery in the South, and the resulting political conflicts between the South and the North for and against the protection and territorial extension of slavery gradually made the South the champion of the doctrine of State Rights, and led that section to maintain the right of any State to secede from the Union. (*See Slavery; State Sovereignty.*) The election of Lincoln showed that the power of the Democratic party was broken, and the South feared a vigorous policy against the extension of slavery and its

political supremacy. As the Southern States had declared they should do in the event of Lincoln's election, they one by one passed ordinances of secession (*see Secession*) and formed a government under the name of the Confederate States of America. While this was going on it became evident that war would be the result. The first gun was fired on January 9, 1861, by batteries in Charleston harbor, which drove back the steamer Star of the West, bearing supplies to Fort Sumter. The actual outbreak of war, however, is dated from April 12th, when Fort Sumter was bombarded. The first blood was shed in Baltimore on April 19th in a street attack on the Sixth Massachusetts regiment, which was on its way to Washington. Bull Run (July 21, 1861) was the first great battle. It resulted in a severe defeat for the Union army; its effect was to encourage the South and raise a determined spirit in the North, and to unify both sections in support of their respective policies. The Mississippi was opened to Union vessels by the capture of New Orleans in April, 1862, and of Vicksburg and Port Hudson in July, 1863. The latter month also saw the Union victory of Gettysburg, by which the Confederate attempt to carry the war into the Northern States was overthrown. From July, 1863, the final victory of the national cause was assured. Sherman's march to the sea in the latter part of 1864, cut through the heart of the Confederacy and did incalculable damage to the Southern cause. The vigorous blows which, in 1864 and the spring of 1865, Grant dealt to Lee's army in Virginia, brought the war to a conclusion. Lee surrendered at Appomattox Court House on April 9, 1865. Johnston's army surrendered on April 26th, and within two months more all the Confederate forces had laid down their arms. The result of the war was to establish the fact that the United States is a nation and not a league of States, and that no State has the right to secede from the Union. It also resulted in the abolition of slavery. The proclamation of emancipation, issued by President Lincoln on January 1, 1863, declared the freedom of all slaves within certain designated territory which was in

rebellion, and the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, adopted after the war, extinguished slavery in the United States. (*See Emancipation; Amendments to the Constitution.*) The readmission to the Union of the States that had formed the Confederacy is treated under *Reconstruction.* The exclusion of representatives of the Confederate States from Congress during the war insured to the Republicans majorities in both houses. The Republican party advocated, and by its legislation enforced, a vigorous prosecution of the war, while the Democratic party, as a body, was not in hearty sympathy with it, though many "War Democrats," as they were called, were not an inch behind the foremost Republicans. (*See Amnesty; Drafts;* and similar titles for subjects connected with legislation and the execution of the laws.)

Clay, Henry, was born in Hanover County, Virginia, April 12, 1777, and died in Washington, June 29, 1852. He was by profession a lawyer. In 1806 and 1807, and from 1809 to 1811, he was United States Senator from Kentucky; from 1811 to 1825 he was a Representative, and six times Speaker of the House. From 1825 to 1829 he was Secretary of State, and from 1836 to 1842, and from 1849 until his death he was again Senator. He was originally a War Democrat during the War of of 1812. He was then of the Adams and Clay Republicans, taking part in the scrub race for the presidency in 1825. He became the leader of the Whig party. In 1831 and 1844 he was the Whig candidate for President. Personally he was one of the most attractive and irresistible of men, and as a leader he was almost worshipped. He was particularly fertile in compromises, the Missouri Compromise and the Compromise of 1850 being his best known achievements.

Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, The, was negotiated at Washington in April, 1850, by John M. Clayton, Secretary of State under Taylor, and Sir Edward Bulwer, British Minister to the United States. The treaty provided that neither the United States nor Great Britain should attempt to control a proposed canal across Nicarauga, in Central America. It provided further for the

neutrality of the canal, and it guaranteed encouragement to all lines of inter-oceanic communication. The terms of the treaty were afterward much disputed. In 1882 our government intimated to Great Britain that the canal having become impracticable because of reasons for which Great Britain alone was responsible, the United States considered the treaty as no longer binding, but Great Britain still regards the treaty as in force.

Clay Whigs.—The death of William Henry Harrison raised John Tyler to the presidency. Both were Whigs. Henry Clay was the leader of the Whig party. Tyler was one of those nullifiers that had remained with the Whig party when Calhoun and his followers withdrew about 1838. The contrast between him and the other leaders of his party at once showed itself, and a bitter fight ensued between the followers of Clay and those of Tyler. Clay's adherents were known as Clay Whigs. The first quarrel was on the subject of a charter for a national bank. The President was opposed to its being chartered, and vetoed a bill for that purpose drawn by the Secretary of the Treasury, giving as his reason the presence of certain features which he considered objectionable. A bill was hastily drawn up embodying the President's suggestions, but this, too, received his veto. The conflict was continued on other measures. The House next elected was more strongly Democratic. (*See Whig Party.*)

Clean Sweep is a phrase used in politics to indicate the removal by an official of all of his subordinates not belonging to his political party.

Cleveland, Grover, was born at Caldwell, New Jersey, March 18, 1837. He moved to Buffalo, New York, early in life, and was there admitted to the bar. He was Assistant District-Attorney from 1863 to 1866; in 1870 he was elected Sheriff, and in 1881 Mayor of Buffalo. In 1882 he was elected Governor of New York by the unprecedented majority of over 192,000, owing to a split in the Republican ranks. He is a Democrat. In 1884 he was nominated for President and elected.

Had New York gone against him he would have been defeated, and he carried that State by a plurality of but 1,047 votes in a total of over 1,150,000.

Clinton, De Witt, was born at Little Britain, New York, March 2, 1769, and died at Albany, February 11, 1828. He graduated at Columbia College, and was admitted to the bar. He was elected to the New York Senate in 1799. From 1802 to 1803 he was a United States Senator. From 1817 to 1822, and from 1822 to 1827, he was Governor of New York. He held other State offices, and was Mayor of New York City. In 1812 he ran against Madison for the presidency He was a Democrat, but he and his followers in New York constituted a distinct faction, frequently allied with the Whigs. Though a Democrat, he believed in internal improvements, though for the benefit of the State rather than of the nation. He was the chief promoter of the Erie Canal.

Clinton, George, was born in Ulster County, New York, July 26, 1739, and died April 20, 1812. He was Governor of New York from 1777 to 1795, and from 1801 to 1804. He was the head of the powerful Clinton family. He opposed the adoption of the Constitution. He was Vice-President from 1804 to 1812, having been defeated for the same office in 1789 and 1792.

Clintonian Platform. (*See Clintonians.*)

Clintonians.—In New York State the Clinton family was originally opposed to the adoption of the Constitution; the Livingstons and Schuylers favored it. Alexander Hamilton was a connection of the Schuylers, and Morgan Lewis of the Livingstons. Aaron Burr had at first been a lukewarm Federalist. The Clintons were naturally at once of the Republican (Democratic-Republican) party; to them in about the year 1800 were joined the Livingstons, or Lewisites, and Burr and his followers, the Burrites. The union of the Burrites with the others was not firm, and, dissension following, their influence rapidly waned, the national administration recognizing and aiding the other faction. About 1807 a split in the Republican party in the State led to the ascendency of

the Clintons over the Lewisites, the State patronage being freely used by the Clintons to accomplish their object. The Lewisites and Burrites now joined hands and declared against George Clinton and in favor of Madison for the presidency, to succeed Jefferson. The combination of the Lewisites and Burrites is usually known as the "Martling men," from their meeting-place in New York City—Martling's Long Room. The Clinton faction was known as the Clintonians. These latter were thus naturally opposed to the administration, and their dislike to the restrictive measures on commerce at this period threw them toward the Federalists, with whom the Clintonians now frequently acted, jointly supporting DeWitt Clinton for the presidency in 1812. His friends issued an address, known as the Clintonian Platform, in which they attacked the congressional caucus and the Virginia influence. (*See those titles.*) Madison had the support of Jefferson, and his supporters were known in consequence as Jefferson Democrats. A split among the Clintonians now threw DeWitt Clinton and the Federalists still more closely together, but in 1815 this coalition was defeated and the Federalists finally destroyed. Clinton and the others of his party now became reconciled, and in 1817 he was elected Governor. The Martling men had about 1812 revivified the Tammany organization and had become known as the "Bucktails," a name derived from the Tammany insignia of a buck's tail worn in the hat instead of a feather. On his election in 1817, Clinton inaugurated the canal policy which ended in giving to the State the Erie Canal. The Bucktails naturally opposed this policy, and the name Bucktail came to be applied to any opponent of the canals. Among the prominent Clintonians had been Daniel D. Tompkins, now out of politics, and Martin Van Buren, who had joined the Bucktails. About 1822 the Bucktails came to be recognized as the regular Republican (Democratic-Republican) party of the State. In the election of that year the Clintonians were defeated. In 1824, however, the removal of Clinton from the post of Canal Commissioner created a reaction in

his favor, and he was elected Governor in that year and again in 1826. The lead of the Bucktails had passed to the Albany Regency (*which see*). In 1828 Clinton died, leaving his faction leaderless. It had always been a personal party. Clinton tolerated no equals. The position of his family had enabled him to carry out his desires, but the increase in the voting population had rendered it more and more difficult, and the entirely popular and democratic faction had supplanted him.

Clinton's Ditch is the name at first applied to the Erie Canal by those opposing it, DeWitt Clinton having been the chief promoter of the enterprise.

Cobden Club.—The Cobden Club, of England, takes its name from the great free-trader, Richard Cobden. It is the center of the free-trade doctrine in British politics. Protectionists in the United States are fond of asserting that the movement in this country for the reduction of duties to a revenue basis is fostered and encouraged by the Cobden Club, and that "British gold" helps to carry on the movement, which, if successful, they assert would be as advantageous to British manufacturing interests as it would be injurious to ours.

Coinage.—Previous to and during the Revolution the coins in use in this country were mostly foreign. The Constitution (Article 1, section 8, clause 5) vested in Congress the right to coin money and to regulate the value thereof. The Act of Congress of April 2, 1792, established the silver dollar as the standard, its weight being 416 grains of silver of .8924 of fineness, equivalent to 371¼ grains of pure silver; the relative value of gold to silver was established at one part of the former to fifteen of the latter; the fineness of gold coins was fixed at eleven parts of pure gold to one of alloy. The Act of June 28, 1834, changed weight and fineness of the gold dollar, making it 258 grains of .899225 of fineness, or 232 grains of pure gold. The Act of January 18, 1837, established .900 as the standard fineness of both gold and silver. It left the weight of the gold dollar unaltered (thus slightly increasing its value) and reduced the weight of the silver dollar to 412½ grains

(thus leaving its value unchanged). The ratio of gold to silver was thus made one part of the former to 15.98 of the latter. The ratio in most European countries was one to 15.5. The result of this was that one part of gold imported into this country could be exchanged for 15.98 parts of silver, which when exported would yield one part of gold and leave a surplus of .48 parts of silver for the expenses of transportation and loss of interest while in transit, and yet give a profit on the transaction. This, of course, lead to heavy exports of silver, that element of our currency being very largely eliminated. In order to check the export of fractional silver coins, their weight was reduced to 384 grains of standard silver by Act of February 21, 1853, which law also stopped the coinage into fractional silver coins of silver bullion offered to the mints for that purpose, leaving this entirely in the hands of the government. The coinage of silver dollars was discontinued for thirty years by order of the Executive in 1806. They were then again coined as required by depositors of silver bullion until their coinage was suspended by Act of February 12, 1873. The Act of February 28, 1878, revived their coinage at the rate of at least two million dollars worth a month, and not to exceed four millions. This act is still in force. The Act of 1873 authorized the coinage of trade dollars of 420 grains; these were not coined for circulation as dollars, but for the convenience of merchants for export to the East, their weight and fineness being marked on the coin. Nevertheless, these coins circulated here, and the decline in silver rendered the coinage of bullion into trade dollars for use in circulation profitable to the owners of the bullion. Their coinage was, therefore, first restricted, and then, in April, 1878, suspended. Although these coins were never legal tender, yet for a time they circulated freely, and as the name "dollar" had given them at least a show of right for purposes of circulation, it was deemed right by Congress to indemnify the holders, who were presumed to have taken them on the strength of that name. The Forty-ninth Congress provided for the

redemption at the Treasury of all trade dollars that should be presented prior to September 3, 1887. There were thus redeemed $7,689,036 out of a total of $35,965,924 coin. The gold coinage at present consists of the double eagle (twenty dollars), the eagle (ten dollars), the half-eagle. (five dollars), the quarter-eagle (two and one-half dollars), the three-dollar piece, the one-dollar piece. The silver coinage consists of the standard dollar, the half-dollar, the quarter-dollar, the dime. The base metal coinage consists of five, three, two and one-cent pieces. The gold coins and the standard silver dollar are legal tender to an unlimited amount; the half-dollars, quarter-dollars and dimes to the maximum amount of ten dollars, and the base metal coins to the maximum amount of twenty-five cents in any one payment. The coinage of the United States mints has been as follows from 1793 to June 30, 1891. Gold, $1,549,927,749.50; silver, $638,444,073.20; minor, $22,842,245.95; total, $2,211,-214,028.65. The Act of 1792 established a mint at Philadelphia. This remained the only institution of its kind until, in 1835, branches were established at Charlotte, North Carolina, and Dahlonega, Georgia, for the coinage of gold mined in those parts of the country, and at New Orleans for the coinage of silver imported from Mexico. In 1852, 1862 and 1863, respectively, mints were established at San Francisco, Denver and Carson City for the coinage of gold mined in the West. No coins were ever struck at the Denver mint, and in 1873 that and the mint at Charlotte were changed to assay offices. The operations of the mints at Dahlonega, Charlotte and New Orleans were suspended in 1861. The latter was reopened in 1879. Coinage at the mint of Carson City was suspended in 1885. In 1873 a bureau of the mint was established in the Treasury Department, under whose control all the mints were placed. Previously to this they had been branches of the Philadelphia mint, whose director was charged with their supervision.

Colfax, Schuyler, was born at New York, March 23, 1823. He was a journalist. He served in the

House from 1855 to 1869, being Speaker from 1863 to 1869. From 1869 to 1873 he was Vice-President of the United States. He was a Republican. He died January 13, 1885.

Colonization.—It was the object of the colonization societies to aid and encourage free negroes to systematic colonization of the western coast of Africa. It was hoped thus to counteract and ultimately to suppress the slave trade. The idea seems to have originated as early as 1770 with the Rev. Samuel Hopkins, D. D,, of Newport, but it was not until January 1, 1817, that the American Colonization Society was formally organized. Among its presidents were James Madison and Henry Clay. Some few negroes had previously emigrated to the British negro colony of Sierra Leone, but in 1820 the first organized attempt was made to found a colony. This was at Sherbro Island. The location proving unfortunate, land was purchased on the main land at Cape Mesurado, and early in 1822 colonists landed there. Between nine and ten thousand persons were sent thither up to 1856. In 1847 the colony declared itself an independent Republic under the name of Liberia. The colonization movement was at first encouraged by the slave-holders, as it tended to relieve the South of its free negroes; but as slaves became more valuable, fewer were freed by their masters, and these latter, from regarding slavery as an institution to be merely tolerated, came to assert the doctrine of its essential righteousness. Under these circumstances colonization fell into disfavor at the South, while at the North the Abolitionists regarded all such schemes as immoral temporizing.

Colonization, Political.—In elections it is a common form of fraud to bring into a doubtful district men from other parts, and to give them some show of a residence in that district so as to enable them to vote there and so turn the result. The voters thus moved or colonized can, of course, always be spared at the points from which they are taken, so that while the total vote of the party in the State remains unchanged, it will be

so distributed as to give to that party more Congressmen or members of the Legislature, as the case may be, than it would otherwise have had. This is called colonization, and its practice is confined almost exclusively to the larger cities. Lodging houses are frequently used for this purpose, and these are shockingly crowded with transplanted voters on the day preceding election, or registration, where that formality is required.

Colorado was organized as a Territory in 1861 from portions of Utah, Kansas, Nebraska and New Mexico. On August 1, 1876, President Grant proclaimed its admission to the Union. It is thus the youngest of the thirty-eight States. The capital is Denver. The population in 1880 was 194,327, and in the last census (1890) 419,198. Colorado has but one member of the House of Representatives and casts but three electoral votes, which are always counted on by the Republicans. It is commonly referred to as the Centennial State, referring to the year of its admission. (*See Governors; Legislatures.*)

Comity of Nations is the friendly spirit which exists between different nations, and which often impels a government to grant a favor to a foreign power that could not be demanded as a matter of right, either as coming under the general principles of international law or the provisions of existing treaties. Such were the surrender of Arguelles to Spain by Secretary Seward in 1864, and the surrender of William M. Tweed by Spain to us in 1876.

Commercial Agents. (*See Foreign Service.*)

Commercial Crises.—A period of prosperity will lead the business community, in the hope of still larger profits, to undue extension of all branches of profitable industries, or of industries believed to be so. In every civilized community business is now very largely based on credit, and this credit is at such times lavishly granted as one of the means of business extension. Overproduction, a fall in prices, failures of merchants and of banks follow. Complete distrust on every hand leads capitalists to lock their money in vaults, and

even banks in many cases to refuse loans to perfectly solvent business men. This conservatism, usually as extreme as was the expansion preceding, has the effect of bringing on a money panic, which, re-acting on the situation, in its turn aggravates the crisis. The result of the crisis is a fall in prices usually (by a reaction that is quite natural) to a point below the normal level. Debts are wiped out. A period of inaction, of extreme depression, follows, followed in turn by moderate prosperity, increasing to extreme prosperity, ending as before. The recurrence of these events shows a certain periodicity, the period in England being about ten years. In this country the period has been more irregular, 1819, 1837, 1857, 1873, 1884, having witnessed commercial crises. The War of 1812 was followed by a rise in prices, followed by money stringency and large declines. This was brought about partly by calls of the government on the Bank of the United States for funds to meet $7,500,000 of maturing stock of the issue that had furnished funds to pay for the Territory of Louisiana. This compelled the bank largely to reduce its discounts. The panic of 1837 was due to speculation in western lands, the sales of which in twenty-six months amounted to $41,000,000. The sales for the previous forty years had amounted to but $49,000,000. This speculative fever had been aided by the deposit of government funds in State banks. (*See Pet Banks.*) The specie circular of the government requiring payments for lands to be made in coin, caused many of these banks to suspend, and the crisis was precipitated. Specie payments were suspended in May, 1837, by all banks except the State Bank of Missouri. Specie was worth a premium of about twelve per cent. Specie payments were resumed on April 16, 1838, by three Boston banks, and in the next month they were generally resumed. The next suspension of specie payment took place in October, 1857, but in sixty days it was again resumed. The drain of the Civil War caused the suspension of specie payments by the government, as well as by the banks, on December 30, 1861, but this

suspension was not accompanied by a panic. Specie payments were not resumed until January 1, 1879. Meanwhile the suspension forced gold to a premium, and it became an article of merchandise. Its highest point was reached in July, 1864, when it sold at 285. The crisis of 1873 was due principally to excessive railroad building. In New York the panic was so great that the New York Stock Exchange was for twelve days closed for business. The banks suspended currency payments, but after forty days they again resumed. Business passed through the usual stages, and by 1879 a season of prosperity had again set in. It continued to increase until July, 1881. The assassination of President Garfield on the second of that month being the epoch from which the decline in prices is usually dated. This gradual decline continued, with occasional reactions, until in May, 1884, another panic set in. Money rose to three per cent. per day and stocks dropped rapidly, but rates for money soon declined to more moderate figures. The banks in New York, the center of the panic, aided each other in carrying securities of doubtful value, thus limiting the casualties among the banks to one failure and one suspension. The usual depression followed. In 1886 business was slowly recovering, and the usual period of inflation may next be expected.

Committee of the Whole in legislative assemblies is a committee consisting of all the individual members of the assembly. When an assembly goes into committee of the whole, the presiding officer surrenders the chair, usually to some member named by him. When the committee has finished the consideration of the subjects entrusted to it, the presiding officer of the assembly resumes the chair, and the chairman of the committee reports to the assembly, which may then take action on the report just as on the report of any other committee. The rules and powers of the committee of the whole differ materially from those of the assembly, and it is for the purpose of gaining the greater freedom and expedition thus afforded that the fiction of a com-

mittee of the whole is made use of. The United States Senate does not resolve itself into committee of the whole. In that body it is simply moved that a subject be considered "as in committee of the whole." This is called a *quasi committee*. In legislative bodies the assistant clerk acts as clerk of the committee, and the journal of the House does not contain the proceedings of the committee, only its report to the House. In committee of the whole a member may speak on the same question as often as he can obtain the floor, the previous question or reconsideration cannot be moved, nor can motions, appeals or amendments be laid on the table. In the House of Representatives of Congress, every public bill and all measures relating to religion, trade, revenue or the grant of public money, must be considered in committee of the whole before being considered by the House.

Committee of Ways and Means. (*See Ways and Means, Committee of.*)

Committees.—In order to facilitate the work of Congress, the Senate and the House have each a number of standing committees on a variety of subjects, and any measures introduced are referred to the committee within the scope of whose labors they properly fall. These committees are appointed at the beginning of a Congress, and remain in existence throughout its life. The power of these committees is very great, for a measure may be delayed by them and thus practically killed, or adversely reported, in which case its chances of success are nearly hopeless. On the other hand, it is within the power of a committee to press any particular measure upon the attention of Congress. Most of the real work on bills is done in committee, the vote in the House being frequently only a hurried and ill-considered proceeding. Among the most important standing committees are the Committee of Ways and Means, Appropriations Committee (in the House), Finance Committee (in the Senate), Banking and Currency, etc. In the House the Speaker appoints these committees; in the Senate they are nominally voted for,

but they are really arranged by the caucus of the majority. Joint committees are standing committees of both Houses acting together. Select committees are appointed for the investigation of particular subjects. Committees of conference are committees appointed by each House in order to confer on points in dispute between the Houses.

Compound Duties. (*See Customs Duties.*)

Compromise of 1850.—For more than a year after the termination of the Mexican War, the territory acquired by that war had remained under military rule. But in 1850 California adopted a constitution prohibiting slavery, and then applied for admission. The slave States would not agree to admit her unless a new slave State were also formed. At the same time the organization of the newly acquired territory came up for discussion. Henry Clay then proposed a compromise, which, having been referred to a select committee of thirteen, of which he was chairman, was reported by them in substantially the same shape as proposed. It provided for: 1. The postponement of the admission of new States to be formed out of Texas until demanded by such State. 2. The admission of California as a free State. 3. The organization, without the Wilmot Proviso, of all territory acquired from Mexico, and not included in California, as the Territories of New Mexico and Utah. 4. The combination of the last two measures in one bill. 5. The establishment of the boundaries of Texas and the payment to her of $10,000,000 for the abandonment of her claim to New Mexico. 6. More effectual laws for the return of fugitive slaves. 7. Abolishing the slave trade in the District of Columbia, but leaving slavery there undisturbed. These measures all became laws, and together were commonly known as the Omnibus Bill. It is charged that the indemnity of $10,000,000, the payment of which raised the market value of Texas securities from twenty or thirty to nearly par, was not without influence in the passage of the bill. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill, passed in 1854, virtually repealed this compromise.

Compromises of the Constitution.—On three points did the convention of 1787, framing the Constitution, come to a stage at which further progress seemed impossible. From this sprang three compromises. The result of the first was the present system of a Senate containing two members from each State, regardless of size, and a House whose members are apportioned to the population. (*See Apportionment.*) Rhode Island was never represented in the convention, and New Hampshire not until after this subject was disposed of. There were therefore eleven States, and these were divided as follows: Virginia, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, six, known as the "large States," against New York, Maryland, Connecticut, New Jersey and Delaware, five, known as the "small States." The former desired representation according to population, the *national system*, the latter by States, or the *federative system.* A compromise was effected, the present system being the result. One of the most serious evils of the Confederation was the powerlessness of Congress to regulate commerce. The commercial States were all in favor of giving to Congress complete control of this subject, nor were the other States generally opposed to this, except in this, that the Southern States, whose industries consisted almost exclusively in the cultivation of rice, tobacco and a few other articles, objected strenuously to any possibility by which an export tax could at any time be imposed on these articles, as any such proceeding would tend to cripple the entire State. The second compromise was accordingly made, complete control over commerce being given to Congress, except that a tax on exports was prohibited. (Article 1, section 4, clause 5.) The third compromise was on the question of slavery. Georgia and South Carolina refused to enter the Union if the slave trade were to be prohibited or discriminated against. It was then that Article 1, section 9, clause 1, was agreed on, forbidding Congress to prohibit the slave trade prior to the year 1808, but permitting the imposition of a tax thereon not to exceed ten dollars a head.

The other concessions to the slave States were Article 4, section 2, clause 2, concerning the return of fugitive slaves, and Article 1, section 2, clause 3, giving representation in Congress to the number of inhabitants *plus three-fifths of the slaves.* The consideration for these concessions was the elimination of the following section: "No Navigation Act shall be passed without the assent of two-thirds of the members present in either House."

Compromise Tariff.—A Tariff Act introduced by Henry Clay in 1833. (*See Tariffs of the United States.*)

Concord Mob.—In August, 1835, a time when the anti-slavery leaders were decried and insulted even in New England, John Greenleaf Whittier accompanied George Thompson, an English orator, to Concord, New Hampshire, to make arrangements for an anti-slavery meeting. A mob of several hundred gathered, assailed Whittier with sticks and stones, injured him and drove him into the house of an honorable man, though not an Abolitionist. Meanwhile the house which held Thompson was also attacked. Whittier managed to join him. A cannon was actually brought to bombard the house, but finally the rioters dispersed without doing serious damage, and Whittier and Thompson escaped from the town.

Confederate States, The.—The name adopted by the States that seceded in 1861. Delegates from six of these States met at Montgomery, Alabama, February 4, 1861, and formed a provisional government under the above name. The delegates to the convention had been appointed by the different State conventions, and not elected by the people. The government thus established adopted provisionally the Constitution of the United States, making in it such changes as suited their purpose, and declared all the laws of the United States in force until repealed. The legislation of the provisional Congress (consisting of one House only) dealt with the carrying on of the war, the raising of money and the adoption of a permanent constitution. In February, 1862, this constitution having been adopted by all the States, an election was held under it, and Jefferson

Davis and Alexander H. Stephens (the provisional President and Vice-President) were chosen. They were inaugurated February 22, 1862. The capital had been removed to Richmond, Virginia, and there it remained during the war. The influence of Congress on the course of events was but small, all the real power being in the hands of the President, who made his influence felt in every department. The surrender of Lee in 1865 put an end to the Civil War, and at the same time to the Confederacy. Most of the changes that were made in the Constitution were made for the purpose of securing explicit recognition of slavery and of the sovereignty of the States. A point of interest to us is a prohibition on laying any duties on imports "to promote or foster any branch of industry."

Confirmation by the Senate. (*See Term and Tenure of Office.*)

Congress.—All legislative powers granted by the Constitution of the United States are vested in Congress, which consists of the Senate and the House of Representatives. The powers of Congress are enumerated in Article 1, section 8, of the Constitution, and all powers not granted to Congress, or prohibited to the States, are reserved to the States or to the people; but the power of Congress is absolute within the scope of its authority. The Senate is composed of two members from every State, regardless of size or population; the members of the House are apportioned on the basis of population. Thus, while in the House the influence of the people is felt directly, according to their numbers, the Senate provides the means of defending the smaller States from the possible encroachments of the larger; and to assure the safety of the smaller States, the Constitution, Article 5, provides that "no State without its consent shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate." Bills that have passed both Houses are sent to the President, who may either sign or veto them, or do neither, in which case the bill becomes a law after ten days unless Congress has previously adjourned. (*See Veto.*) The veto of the President is the only

check upon the power of Congress to legislate within the scope of its authority. Legislation exceeding the constitutional power of Congress will be declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, if that body is appealed to by either party to any controversy arising in an attempt to enforce such laws. Each House is, by the Constitution, "the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members."

Congressman. (*See House of Representatives; Congressman-at-Large.*)

Congressman-at-Large.—The Act of February 25, 1882, provided for the reapportionment of Representatives. (*See Apportionment.*) In cases where the number assigned to a State was increased and the Legislature of that State did not provide for rearrangement of the districts, the additional members were to be elected on a general ticket by the whole State, the old districts each electing one member as before. Where the representation of a State was diminished and a corresponding change of district was not made, the whole number of members was to be elected on a general ticket There is at present but one Congressman-at-large. He is from Pennsylvania.

Conkling, Roscoe, was born at Albany, New York, October 30, 1829. From 1859 to 1863 and 1865 to 1867 he served in the House, and from 1867 to 1881 in the United States Senate. In 1881 he resigned. (*See Stalwarts.*) Subsequently he devoted himself exclusively to his profession of the law in which he held prominent rank. He died at New York, April 18, 1888.

Connecticut was one of the original States of the Union. It had two capitals, Hartford and New Haven, up to 1873, when the former was made the sole seat of government. The population in 1880 was 622,700, and in the last census (1890) 746,258. Connecticut is entitled to four members of the House of Representatives, and casts six electoral votes. It is a somewhat doubtful State in national politics. From 1860 to 1884 it was Republican, except that in 1876 Tilden had a small majority, and in 1884 Cleveland a small plurality. It takes its name from its principal river, which means in

the Indian tongue, "long river." Popularly it is variously known as the Freestone, Nutmeg, or Wooden Nutmeg State, or the Land of Steady Habits. (*See Governors; Legislatures.*)

Conscience Whigs.—In 1850 the Whigs in Congress had taken the position that the slavery question, which they regarded as settled by the Compromise of 1850, should not be reopened. This policy was approved by President Fillmore. Their attitude led to dissensions in the party in many of the States. In Massachusetts those opposed to the stand thus taken by the leaders were known as Conscience Whigs; those that approved it as Cotton Whigs. The reason of the name is obvious. In New York, Fillmore's State, the supporters of his view were known as Silver Grays, a name given to them because they were mostly the older members. They were also called Snuff-takers. Those opposing it, headed by William H. Seward, were called Woolly Heads, or Seward Whigs.

Conscription Bill. (*See Drafts.*)

Conservatives.—A name assumed by certain political parties in many nations. These parties are sometimes actually, and always avowedly, opposed to changes from old and established forms and practices. In United States history these names have never been in general use, but in Van Buren's administration the name was applied to those Democrats that at the special session of Congress, of September, 1837, opposed the establishment of the sub-treasury system. In the Congress that met December, 1839, they had practically disappeared. The name was also assumed by Southern whites during the reconstruction period following the Civil War, to show their adherence to the old State governments, the abolition of which by Congress they opposed. In Virginia the name was in use until 1872. The name was also used at the North during this period. The Democrats applied it to themselves to draw moderate Republican votes.

Constitution, The, is a Covenant with Death and an Agreement with Hell.—One of the mottoes

of the Abolitionist newspaper, *The Liberator*. (*See Abolitionists.*)

Constitutional Union Party.—This name was adopted at a convention in Baltimore, in May, 1860, of those Whigs that had not, on the dissolution of their party, joined either the Republicans or Democrats. In 1856 they had constituted a portion of the American party. They denounced the platforms of existing parties as tending "to widen political divisions," and declared their principle to be "the Constitution of the country, the union of the States, and the enforcement of the laws." John Bell, of Tennessee, and Edward Everett, of Massachusetts, were respectively nominated for President and Vice-President. This ticket carried Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee, receiving thirty-nine electoral votes. In several of the States "fusion" tickets of electors had been named, and in these the popular vote for each ticket can only be estimated. Bell's total popular vote is variously estimated from about 590,000 to 650,000, of which the former is probably more nearly correct. This party disappeared at the beginning of the Civil War.

Constitution of the Country, The, the Union of the States, and the Enforcement of the Laws.—This phrase is from the platform of the Constitutional Union Party, adopted at its convention in Baltimore, May 19, 1860.

Constitution of the United States.—The history of the formation of our Constitution is given under the heading of Convention of 1787 (*which see*). It was signed, as indicated below, by all the delegates to that convention except Gerry, of Massachusetts, and Mason and Randolph, of Virginia. Having been transmitted to Congress, that body, on September 28, 1787, ordered it to be submitted to conventions chosen in the separate States by the people thereof. Such conventions were chosen, and through them eleven States ratified the Constitution on the following dates: Delaware, December 7, 1787; Pennsylvania, December 12, 1787; New Jersey, December 18, 1787; Georgia, January 2, 1788;

Connecticut, January 9, 1788; Massachusetts, February 6, 1788; Maryland, April 28, 1788; South Carolina, May 23, 1788; New Hampshire, June 21, 1788; Virginia, June 26, 1788; New York, July 26, 1788. As the seventh article provided that the ratification of nine States should be sufficient, it was therefore adopted. March 4, 1789, was the day set for the operations of the new government to commence. Subsequently it was ratified by the two remaining States—by North Carolina on November 21, 1789, and by Rhode Island on May 29, 1790. The text of the various amendments is given below with the body of the Constitution. The dates of the adoption of the amendments are given under the heading Amendments to the Constitution (*which see*).

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

PREAMBLE.

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION I.

All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION II.

1st Clause. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

2d Clause. No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

3d Clause. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within

this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed three-fifths of all other persons. [Altered by the Fourteenth Amendment, Section II.] The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

4th Clause. When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5th Clause. The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION III.

1st Clause. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

2d Clause. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

3d Clause. No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

4th Clause. The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote unless they be equally divided.

5th Clause. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

6th Clause. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief-Justice shall preside; and no person

shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

7th Clause. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment, according to law.

SECTION IV.

1st Clause. The times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

2d Clause. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION V.

1st Clause. Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members in such manner and under such penalties as each House may provide.

2d Clause. Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

3d Clause. Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4th Clause. Neither House during the session of Congress shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

SECTION VI.

1st Clause. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2d Clause. No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office

under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

SECTION VII.

1st Clause. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

2d Clause. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections, to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter their objections at large on their journal and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two-thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that House, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3d Clause. Every order, resolution or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION VIII.

The Congress shall have power:

1st Clause. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

2d Clause. To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

3d Clause. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

4th Clause. To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

5th Clause. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

6th Clause. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

7th Clause. To establish post-offices and post-roads;

8th Clause. To promote the progress of science and useful

arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

9th Clause. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

10th Clause. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the law of nations;

11th Clause. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

12th Clause. To raise and support armies; but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

13th Clause. To provide and maintain a navy;

14th Clause. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

15th Clause. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions;

16th Clause. To provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

17th Clause. To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States; and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings; and

18th Clause. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION IX.

1st Clause. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

2d Clause. The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

3d Clause. No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed.

4th Clause. No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

5th Clause. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

6th Clause. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

7th Clause. No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public moneys shall be published from time to time.

8th Clause. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

SECTION X.

1st Clause. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder or ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

2d Clause. No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports and exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

3d Clause. No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

SECTION I.

1st Clause. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

2d Clause. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

**3d Clause.* The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted

* This clause has been superseded by the Twelfth Amendment.

for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the the seat of Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates; and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose, by ballot, one of them for President, and if no person have a majority, then, from the five highest on the list, the said House shall, in like manner, choose the President. But, in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States; the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States; and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of a President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be Vice-President. But, if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them, by ballot, the Vice-President.

4th Clause. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

5th Clause. No person except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

6th Clause. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President; and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

7th Clause. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

8th Clause. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SECTION II.

1st Clause. The President shall be Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of

the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2*d Clause.* He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the supreme court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3*d Clause.* The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions, which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION III.

He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION IV.

The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and on conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

SECTION I.

The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION II.

1*st Clause.* The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the

United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizens of another State; between citizens of different States; between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens, or subjects.

2d Clause. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

3d Clause. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION III.

1st Clause. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2d Clause. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV

SECTION I.

Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof

SECTION II.

1st Clause. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

2d Clause. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

3d Clause. No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in conse-

quence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

SECTION III.

1*st Clause.* New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

2*d Clause.* The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECTION IV.

The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid, to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress: provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.

1*st Clause.* All debts contracted and engagements entered into before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

2*d Clause.* This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

3d Clause. The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in convention by the unanimous consent of the States present the seventeenth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names.

Go: WASHINGTON

Presidt. and Deputy from Virginia.

New Hampshire.—John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman.

Massachusetts.—Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King.

Connecticut.—Wm. Saml. Johnson, Roger Sherman.

New York.—Alexander Hamilton.

New Jersey.—Wil: Livingston, David Brearley, Wm. Patterson, Jona: Dayton.

Pennsylvania.—B. Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Robt. Morris, Geo. Clymer, Thos. Fitzsimons, Jared Ingersoll, James Wilson, Gouv Morris.

Delaware.—Geo: Read, Gunning Bedford, Jun., John Dickinson, Richard Bassett, Jaco. Broom.

Maryland.—James McHenry, Dan of St. Thos Jenifer, Danl. Carroll.

Virginia.—John Blair, James Madison, Jr.

North Carolina.—Wm. Blount, Richd. Dobbs Spaight, Hu Williamson.

South Carolina.—J. Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Charles Pinckney, Pierce Butler.

Georgia.—William Few, Abr Baldwin.

Attest: WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary.*

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

PROPOSED BY CONGRESS AND RATIFIED BY THE LEGISLATURES OF THE SEVERAL STATES.

ARTICLE I.

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II.

A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III.

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV.

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrant shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI.

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

ARTICLE VII.

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise reexamined in any court of the United States than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII.

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX.

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X.

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI.

The judicial powers of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit, in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

ARTICLE XII.

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; the person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before

the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII.

SECTION I.—Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SEC. II. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV.

SECTION I.—All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

SEC. II.—Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

SEC. III.—No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

SEC. IV.—The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SEC. V.—The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV.

SECTION I.—The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SEC. II.—The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Construction of the Constitution.—The interpretation of a law by a tribunal is the declaration by that tribunal of the meaning of the law as derived from its terms merely. When the mere words are not sufficient to yield this meaning, recourse is had to "construction" of the law, the intention of the law-makers and the circumstances under which it was passed being taken into consideration. Construction begins where interpretation ends. It is evident that the construction of general provisions of the United States Constitution, applying them to particular cases, offers ground for wide differences of opinion as to powers granted or acts permitted. The view that the strict letter of the Constitution must be adhered to in all cases is called the strict construction theory. The view that the Constitution should be liberally construed, thus giving to the Federal Government much power denied to it under the other view, is called the broad or loose construction theory. The tendency of this construction is to centralization by strengthening the hands of the Federal Government. It is plain that a political party espousing the former view would shift its position but little with time, the letter of the Constitution being its sheet-anchor, while the body supporting the latter view would appear in forms varying with the particular cause advocated by

them, their contention being of necessity for a particular reform asserted by them to come within the scope of the Constitution. And so it has been. The Democratic-Republican party has been the strict construction party, and it has had the Federal, the Whig, and the Republican parties successively opposed to it, as advocates of the establishment of a United States bank, of excise laws, of a navy, in the first case; of a protective tariff and of internal improvements in the second; and of the power of the Federal Government to control slavery outside of the States, and subsequently of emancipation and of reconstruction, in the third. But the Democratic-Republican party does not now favor strict construction in the same way as in 1790. Changes made by the opposition have proved beneficial and have been permanent, and the strict construction view of each period has acknowledged accomplished facts of the past. Moreover, even the Democratic-Republican party, when in power, favors broader construction than when in opposition, and the broad-constructionists are apt to insist on rather strict construction when their opponents are in power. The Civil War and the reconstruction period following it, led to the passage of many Acts by Congress based on principles of the loosest construction, and while many of these, as the Ku-Klux Acts (except the conspiracy section), have been declared constitutional by the Supreme Court, others, as the Civil Rights Bill, have been declared unconstitutional. In several recent cases the Supreme Court has shown a tendency to decide cases by a rather strict construction of the Constitution. (*See Civil Rights Bill.*)

Consul. (*See Foreign Service.*)

Contested Elections.—The history of Disputed Presidential or Vice-Presidential Elections is given under that head. The courts of every State decide as to the validity of the votes cast, and the two Houses of Congress see that this vote is authenticated in accordance with the laws. Each House of Congress is the sole judge as to its own members, and any contest as to a seat in either House is decided by that House. The

testimony is taken by the appropriate committee, and after its report the House decides. Contestant and contestee are each allowed a sum, not to exceed $2,000, for expenses actually incurred in the contest and properly vouched for, and special appropriations for compensation to contestants are frequently made.

Contraband of War.—Articles carried by neutrals in vessels or otherwise, which are for the assistance of an enemy in carrying on war, are said to be contraband of war. The term embraces arms, ammunition, materials for manufacturing gunpowder, armed vessels, provisions intended for the military forces, and the like. According to international law, these are liable to seizure and to confiscation by order of a prize court. No recompense is made to the neutral except in the case of provisions. During the Civil War the phrase "contraband of war" was applied to negro slaves who came within the Union lines. This use of it originated with General Benjamin F. Butler, who, being in command of the Department of Eastern Virginia in 1861, refused to return fugitive slaves, declaring that they were contraband of war. His position was disaffirmed by the Government.

Contracts, Impairing the Obligation of.—Article 1, section 10, clause 1 of the Constitution of the United States provides that "no State shall . . . pass any . . . law impairing the obligation of contracts." It will be noticed that this restriction applies only to the States, and that Congress is under no restraint in this respect. The decision in the Dartmouth College case (*which see*) is the most important in the interpretation of this clause of the Constitution.

Convention of 1787.—The government of this country under the Articles of Confederation had been a failure, and the remedy suggested by many was by means of a convention of the States. This was proposed in 1781 in a pamphlet by Pelatiah Webster, and within the next few years the Legislatures of New York and of Massachusetts adopted resolutions of similar tenor. In 1786 a resolution of the Virginia Legislature,

growing out of a desire to regulate commerce on Chesapeake Bay and the connected waters, was passed, appointing commissioners to meet representatives of the other States for the purpose of considering the commercial condition of the United States. This commission, to which only five States sent delegates, reported the fault to be with the Articles of Confederation, and recommended a convention of all the States to amend them, without which step they despaired of any improvement in the condition of trade. Their report was approved by Congress, and on May 25, 1787, the representatives of seven States met and elected as their president George Washington, the delegate of Virginia. All the States except Rhode Island were ultimately represented in the convention. The first plan proposed was that of Edmund Randolph, of Virginia, known as the Virginia Plan. It consisted of fifteen resolutions and provided for two Houses, one elected by the people, the other elected by the first House from nominations made by the State Legislatures. Congress was to have a veto power on State laws and power to coerce delinquent States; it was also to choose the executive. These are the salient features in which the plan differed from the Constitution as ultimately adopted. Charles Pinckney, of South Carolina, introduced a plan, the original of which has been lost and the only record of which, a copy furnished by Pinckney over thirty years later, is not believed to be entirely accurate. In its general features it resembled the Virginia Plan, but it differed from the latter in being more nearly like the present Constitution. It was known as the South Carolina Plan. On June 13th the committee of the whole reported a modification of the Virginia Plan in nineteen resolutions, the most striking change being that the power to coerce a State was not granted to Congress. June 14th the convention adjourned in order to enable William Paterson, of New Jersey, to introduce what is known as the Jersey Plan, the main features of which were as follows: Congress was to continue as a single House, but with additional powers; it was to elect the

executive; acts of Congress and treaties were to be paramount to State laws, and the executive was to have power to coerce refractory individuals and States. Hamilton suggested a plan whereby, among other provisions, the Senate and President were to hold office for life, but his plan had no supporters. On July 24th the various resolutions and plans were referred to a *committee of detail*, from which, on August 6th, a draft of a constitution in twenty-three articles was reported. After debate of more than a month, during which the clause permitting the slave trade for twenty years, the fugitive slave clause and the electoral system clause were inserted, the draft was referred to a committee consisting of Gouverneur Morris, Johnson, Hamilton, Madison and King. This committee, most of whose work was done by Morris, on September 13th reported the Constitution in substantially its present form. Some trifling changes were made by the convention, which then adopted the instrument, and after deciding against a new convention to consider amendments suggested by the States, the convention adjourned September 17th. The Constitution, accompanied by a request that it be submitted to the States for ratification, was sent to Congress, by whom copies were sent to the State Legislatures. The Constitution, as finally adopted, was signed by but thirty-nine out of the fifty-five delegates. The proceedings of the convention were secret. Its papers were placed in Washington's custody, subject to the disposal of the new Congress, and in 1796 they were deposited with the State Department.

Convention of London. (*See Fishery Treaties.*)

Conventions. (*See Nominating Conventions.*)

Coodies, The, were a faction of the New York Federalists that favored the War of 1812. The Federalists generally opposed it. The Coodies opposed De Witt Clinton, who, though a Democrat, was on good terms politically with the Federalists. Their name arose from the assumed name, *Abimalech Coody*, adopted by their leader, Gulian C. Verplanck, in his communications to the newspapers.

Cooly.—As generally used in this country, the word cooly is applied to Chinese laborers of the lower classes who come to this country. It has obtained this broad meaning during the discussion of the Chinese question: strictly, it includes only such laborers as have been imported under contract or by force or fraud.

Co-operation.—In 1861 some of the members of the South Carolina Legislature attempted to check the impetuosity of those in favor of immediate secession, by proposing that the Governor be empowered to assemble a secession convention "as soon as any one of the other Southern States shall, in his judgment, give satisfactory assurance or evidence of her determination to withdraw from the Union." This course was called co-operation. It was voted down.

Copperhead.—A name applied during the Civil War to Northern sympathizers with the South. It is also the name of a snake that "prefers dark and moist places," and is said "to sting from behind." The allusion is obvious.

Corea, Difficulty with.—In 1871 Admiral Rodgers, with several United States vessels, was surveying one of the rivers of Corea, when, without warning, the vessels were fired on from the Corean forts. Though little damage had been inflicted, some retaliation was necessary to support the dignity of our flag, and on June 11th several of the fortifications were captured and destroyed by the Americans with a loss of three killed and seven wounded. The Corean government refused to be communicated with as to the prisoners we had taken, so they were released and the squadron sailed away.

Corn-Crackers.—A name given to the inhabitants of Kentucky.

Corner-Stone Speech.—By this name is known the speech made by Alexander H. Stephens, at Savannah, immediately after his election to the vice-presidency of the Confederate States. He spoke of the United States government as founded on the "fundamentally wrong assumption of the equality of races,"

and continued as follows: "Our new government is founded upon exactly opposite ideas. Its foundations are laid, its *corner-stone* rests, upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery, subordination to the superior race, is his natural and normal condition."

Corporal's Guard.—The few supporters of President Tyler's administration are so called.

Corps de Belgique. (*See American Knights.*)

Corwin, Thomas, was born in Kentucky, July 29, 1794. He was a lawyer by profession. He served in the Ohio Legislature, in the House of Representatives and the Senate, and as Governor of his State. In 1844 he was a presidential elector. Under President Fillmore he was Secretary of the Treasury. In 1861 he was appointed Minister to Mexico. He died December 18, 1865.

Cotton Whigs. (*See Conscience Whigs.*)

Council of Appointment.—The New York State Constitution of 1777 placed in a Council of Appointment the power to appoint chancellors, judges of the supreme court, all State officers except State treasurer, all mayors, recorders, sheriffs, clerks, justices of the peace; in fact, nearly all civil and military officers except aldermen, constables, Assemblymen and Senators. The council consisted of the Governor and four Senators chosen by the Assembly. The Governor at first nominated, and the council confirmed or rejected the nominations, but in time the other members of the council claimed the right also to nominate, and in 1801 a convention, assembled for the purpose, declared this latter view of the Constitution correct, thus placing the Governor on the same footing as the other members. The enormous influence wielded by this body was vigorously used as a political weapon. The Constitution adopted in 1822 abolished the council.

Council of Revision.—A body created by the State Constitution of New York, adopted in 1777 and abolished by the Constitution adopted in 1822. It had the power of negativing any action of the Legislature unless passed by a two-thirds vote of each House.

Counting in the Alternative.—This phrase is applied to a method of counting the electoral vote of a State before Congress, sometimes adopted in cases where objections are raised to their reception. The first case of this kind was in 1821. Objection having been made to the reception of the vote of Missouri, the Houses directed the President of the Senate to declare that "if the votes of Missouri were to be counted the result would be for A. B. — votes; if not counted, for A. B. — votes; but in either event A. B. was elected." In 1837 the votes of Michigan, and in 1869 and in 1881 the votes of Georgia were so counted.

Counting Out.— It sometimes happens that the political candidate that has received the largest number of votes is, by fraud in the canvass, deprived of the office to which he has been elected, the vote of his opponent being made to appear larger than his. He is then said to have been counted out.

Courtesy of the Senate.—In considering the nomination made by the President for a federal office in any State, the Senate is almost invariably guided by the wishes of the Senators from that State. If only one of these Senators is of the party in the majority, his sole desire is followed. This practice is called the courtesy of the Senate. It is plainly a violation by the Senate of the trust imposed upon it by the Constitution regarding the confirmation of nominees. This practical control of federal nominations in the State gives the Senators great local influence. Since the consent of the Senators of a State is practically necessary to an appointment, it has become customary for the President to consult Senators before making appointments. The failure of President Garfield to consult the wishes of Senators Conkling and Platt, of New York, in the appointment of a Collector of the Port of New York in 1881, led to their resignation. They at once sought reëlection, but after a protracted fight in the Legislature they were not returned. (*See Senate.*) The term, "Courtesy of the Senate," is also applied in a general way to a number of customs governing that

body which have all the force of regularly adopted rules.

Courts. (*See Judiciary.*)

Cox, Sunset. (*See Sunset Cox.*)

Cradle of Liberty.—A name by which Faneuil Hall in Boston is known. During the Revolution it was the favorite meeting place of the Americans. The name is also sometimes applied to the city of Boston.

Credit Mobilier.—This was the name of a corporation formed for the purpose of building the Union Pacific Railroad. One of the most extensive scandals in the history of this country centered around this corporation and took its name from it. The Credit Mobilier of America was a corporation chartered by the State of Pennsylvania, originally under the name of the Pennsylvania Fiscal Agency. The control of this corporation passed to parties interested in the building of the Union Pacific, among whom were Oakes Ames and Oliver Ames, of Massachusetts. In August, 1867, the Credit Mobilier, through Oakes Ames, contracted with the Union Pacific Railroad to build for it 637 miles of road at prices aggregating $47,000,000. The value of the Credit Mobilier shares, estimated on the advantages to be derived from this contract, was 200 per cent. in December, 1867, and 300 or 400 per cent. in February, 1868. Oakes Ames was at that time a member of Congress, and fearing legislation adverse to the Union Pacific, he undertook to place the stock "where it will do most good to us," as he put it. Accordingly, in December, 1867, he entered into contracts with various members of the House of Representatives to sell to them stock of the Credit Mobilier at par, merely stating that it was a good investment, and in some cases, in answer to a direct question, asserting that no embarrassment to them could flow from it, as the Union Pacific had received all the aid that it wanted from the government. Some of the members that thus bought stock paid for it; for others Ames advanced the money, agreeing to apply the dividends of the stock to the payment of the indebtedness. Two dividends received in 1868

sufficed to pay for the entire stock of the latter class of members and left a small balance due to them. Among these members was James A. Garfield, of Ohio, and in the presidential campaign of 1880 his connection with this matter was brought up against him. The amount of money that he had thus received was $329, and the cry of "329" was a common one on the part of the Democrats in that campaign. Charges based on the Credit Mobilier affair had been circulated during the campaign of 1872, and on the assembling of Congress a committee of investigation was ordered by the House on the motion of the Speaker, James G. Blaine. The committee was appointed by a Democrat temporarily acting as Speaker, and consisted of two Democrats, two Republicans and one Liberal Republican. The committee recommended the expulsion of Oakes Ames, of Massachusetts, and of James Brooks, of New York, the former for having attempted to bribe members by sales of stock below its value, the latter for having received stock from the Credit Mobilier much below its value, knowing that it was intended to influence his action as a congressman and as government director in the Union Pacific. Moreover, as a director he must have known that the Credit Mobilier was to receive payments in securities of the Union Pacific, a fact of which the other members, so the committee found, were in ignorance. The House did not expel Ames and Brooks, but subjected them to the "absolute condemnation of the House." Though these were the only members punished, the innocence of some of the others was at least open to doubt.

Creek Wars. (*See Indian Wars.*)

Creole Case, The.—The Act of Congress of March 2, 1807, had allowed coastwise trade in slaves. In October, 1841, the brig Creole sailed from Hampton Roads for New Orleans with a cargo of 130 slaves. On the passage seventeen of the slaves mutinied, killed one of the owners, took possession of the vessel and put into Nassau, where the British authorities set free all the slaves that had not participated in the murder.

The United States demanded their return, claiming that having remained under the United States flag they had in effect remained on United States soil, and were therefore still slaves. Our claim was not admitted, and was finally disposed of during the negotiations for the extradition treaty of August 9, 1842. (*See Giddings' Resolution.*)

Crime Against Kansas is the name by which the speech of Charles Sumner, delivered in the Senate May 19 and 20, 1856, is known. It was directed against the acts of the slavery faction in the United States in its endeavors to secure the admission of Kansas as a slave State. (*See Border War; Brown, John; Lecompton Constitution.*) Senator Butler had attacked Sumner in debate and in this speech Sumner retorted. For this he was brutally assaulted by Butler's nephew. (*See Brooks, Preston S.*)

Crittenden Compromise.—In 1860, when secession of the Southern States was threatening, John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky, offered a resolution that the Constitution be amended as follows: In all territory north of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes slavery was to be prohibited; in all territory south of that line it was to be protected. New States in either section were to determine for themselves. The resolution further declared that Congress had no power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia as long as it existed in either Virginia or Maryland, nor without the consent of the inhabitants and compensation to non-assenting owners. Further provisions concerned slaves held by federal officers in the District, and damages for slaves freed by violence, while still others prohibited Congress from abolishing the inter-State slave trade and forbade future amendments to the Constitution changing any of these provisions, or Article 1, section 2, clause 3, and Article 4, section 2, clause 3, of the Constitution, or abolishing slavery in any State. Then followed resolutions which declared the fugitive slave laws to be constitutional, recommending some slight changes in them, and requesting the State Legislatures to repeal or

modify the "personal liberty laws," and concluded by a denunciation of the African slave trade. It was not adopted.

Cuba, Annexation of.—Ever since the purchase of Florida from Spain, the importance of Cuba to the United States has been recognized. Its position at the entrance to the Gulf of Mexico, and the value of its sugar, molasses and tobacco have made it seem a desirable island to possess. President John Quincy Adams and his Secretary of State, Clay, suggested the purchase of it from Spain, but that country declined to part with her possession. In 1848 Polk authorized the United States Minister at Madrid to offer $100,000,000 for Cuba, but the offer met with a curt refusal. The filibustering expeditions of Lopez from 1849 to 1851 (*see Filibusters*) drew fresh attention to the island. In declining to join in the Tripartite Treaty (*which see*) in 1852, the United States government denied having any intention of annexing Cuba, but refused to bind itself. In 1854 our Ministers at London, Paris and Madrid addressed to our government the Ostend Manifesto (*which see*), wherein they advocated that the United States gain possession of Cuba, by purchase if possible, by force if necessary. This advice found more favor with the Democratic party and the South than it did with the Republican party and the North. Nothing came of it, however, and since the Civil War no discussion of the subject has attracted wide attention.

Cumberland Road is a public road originally projected from Cumberland, in Maryland, to the Ohio River, but ultimately carried as far as Illinois. The first act in regard to it was passed by Congress March 29, 1806. It appropriated $30,000 for the expenses of three commissioners, to be appointed by the President, for the purpose of laying out the road. There was much opposition to every successive bill appropriating money for the road on the ground of the unconstitutionality of any act of Congress providing for internal improvements. On this ground President Monroe vetoed the bill of May 4, 1822, providing for its repair. Sixty

bills in all were passed appropriating money for the establishment, extension and repair of this road, the last being that of May 25, 1838. The rise of railroads put a stop to its further extension. The total amount appropriated was $6,821,246.

Currency.—Strictly speaking, any medium of exchange that is current, or everywhere received, is currency, whether it be coin or paper money. The term has, however, come to be applied exclusively to paper money. The paper money of this country is of four kinds: first, legal tender notes; second, national bank notes; third, gold certificates; fourth, silver certificates. The legal tender notes of the United States are bills issued merely on the credit of the government. (*See Fiat Money.*) The acts of 1875 and 1882, however, direct the Treasurer of the United States to hold $100,000,000 as a reserve for their redemption. There were outstanding on September 1, 1865 (when the national debt was at its maximum), $432,553,000 of legal tender notes. This was reduced to $346,681,016 by January 1, 1879, at which amount it has since remained. These notes are issued in denominations of one, two, five, ten, twenty, fifty, one hundred, five hundred, one thousand, five thousand and ten thousand dollars. Previous to 1879 (when specie payments were resumed) bills for fractions of a dollar, fractional currency as it was called, were issued. There is at present pending a bill authorizing the issue of a limited amount of fractional currency, which it is maintained will be of great convenience to business men in enabling them to remit small amounts of money by mail. The legal tender notes were issued by the government during the war as a means of raising revenue, and the issue was generally regarded merely as a war measure, but the Supreme Court has declared their issue constitutional and legal, though issued in time of peace. The national bank notes are issued by the national banks and guaranteed by the government, the banks depositing United States bonds as security. (*See National Banking System.*) There were outstanding on October 5, 1887, $272,387,176

of these notes, of which $102,719,440, though not yet redeemed, had been surrendered by the banks, and for the redemption of which these had deposited legal tender notes. Gold and silver certificates are issued by the government against deposits of gold and silver coin, and are exchangeable for the coin on demand. The treasury holds the coin so deposited as a trust fund. The certificates represent the coin and are used in preference to it merely because of greater convenience in handling. On November 1, 1891, the outstanding currency, both gold and silver certificates, amounted to $172,184,558.

Curtis, George William, was born in Providence, Rhode Island, February 24, 1824. He is a man of letters, and as such has won a wide reputation. He was at one time connected with the New York *Tribune* and with *Putnam's Monthly*. Since 1867 he has been editor of *Harper's Weekly*, and connected with *Harper's Monthly*. In 1871 he was one of the committee appointed by President Grant to draw up rules for the Civil Service, in the reform of which he takes a deep interest. In 1868 he was one of the members of the Constitutional Convention of his adopted State, New York. Since 1864 he has been one of the Regents of the University of that State. He was a Republican, but in 1884 became one of the leaders of the revolt in that party. (*See Independents.*)

Custer Massacre. (*See Indian Wars.*)

Customs Duties are indirect taxes levied on goods imported into, or exported from, a country. Duties on exports are forbidden by the Constitution of the United States, Article 1, section 9, clause 5. Customs duties are of five kinds, namely, discriminating, minimum, compound, ad valorem, and specific. *Discriminating* duties are additions to the usual rate, levied on goods imported from certain countries or portions of the world, or imported in vessels of certain nations. In the case of so-called *minimum* duties, goods that have cost less than a certain sum are taxed as if they had cost that sum. Such duties were first levied in 1816, and the principle is still retained, though no wide application is made of

it in the present tariff. *Compound* duties are a mixture of specific and ad valorem duties and are applied to manufactured articles, the raw materials of which are dutiable. The specific part of the duty is intended to equal the rate that would have been imposed on the raw materials if they had been imported before manufacture, and thus to put the domestic manufacturer on as equal a footing with the foreign maker as if the raw material had been imported free of duty, while, at the same time, the domestic producer of the raw material has his industry protected. The ad valorem part of the duty is levied for the purpose of protecting the manufacturer. Such duties have been common since 1860, and appear prominently in the law of 1883. *Ad valorem* duties are a tax of a certain percentage of the value of the merchandise. *Specific* duties are a tax of a certain specified sum for each pound, or yard, or other unit of measure of the merchandise, usually irrespective of its quality or value, though sometimes it is provided that they shall vary with variations between specified limits of the quality or value of the goods. Both specific and ad valorem rates have been imposed by all the general tariff acts of the United States, with the exception, it is believed, of the law of 1846, which levied ad valorem rates only. Whether specific or ad valorem duties are the best, all things considered, is a disputed point. The latter are evidently the fairer, but they give a much wider field for defrauding the government by undervaluation. They also occasion much more trouble to the merchant, and by levying duty on the market value of goods prevent him from fully enjoying the possible benefits of his shrewdness in buying under the market price. They also necessitate a higher and better-paid class of government officials, and there is danger that a competitive leniency will be exercised in the various ports to attract trade. The objection to specific duties is chiefly that as they impose a relatively higher duty on poorer qualities of merchandise they encourage the home production of inferior goods. Their advantages are ease in levying duties, less chance of fraud, that they do not necessitate such high-

salaried officials, and that the revenue can, therefore, be collected at a less cost. Foreign nations have been tending in the direction of specific duties and such is the present tendency of opinion in the United States. The first ninety years of our government show that over fifty-seven per cent. of all its revenues have been derived from customs duties. In the earlier years of this period the proportion was much larger than this. (*See Tariffs of the United States; Exports and Imports.*)

Dade's Massacre. (*See Indian Wars.*)

Dakota was formerly a territory, but on November 3, 1889 it was divided into North and South Dakota, and under these names admitted to the Union as States. It was part of the Louisiana purchase (*see Annexation*) as a territory it was organized by Act of March 2, 1861, and at that time was made to include the larger part of what are now Wyoming and Montana. Bismarck is the capital of North Dakota, and Pierre of South Dakota. The population of North Dakota by the census of 1890 is 182,719, and that of South Dakota is 328,808. (*See Governors*; *Legislatures.*)

Dallas, George Mifflin, was born at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, July 10, 1792, and died December 31, 1864. He was a lawyer and had graduated at Princeton. He was a United States Senator from 1831 to 1833; Minister to Russia, 1837 to 1839; Vice-President of the United States, 1844 to 1848, and Minister to Great Britain from February 4 to May 16, 1861. He was a Democrat.

Dark Horse is a political phrase. When nominating conventions name an individual that was not prominently considered as a candidate before the meeting of the convention, or during its earlier ballots, he is called a dark horse. An instance is the case of James A. Garfield in the Republican National Convention of 1880.

Dartmoor Massacre.—During the war of 1812 many of the American prisoners captured by the British were confined in a prison at Dartmoor, Devonshire. At the close of the war there were several thousands of these, besides twenty-five hundred impressed sailors who

claimed to be American seamen and refused to fight in the British navy against the United States. Some of these seamen had been imprisoned for years before the war broke out. The prisoners, not being released immediately on their hearing of the treaty of peace, grew impatient. Rigorous discipline and lack of satisfactory food further excited them, and there were signs of insubordination. On April 6, 1815, the guard fired on them, killing several and wounding more. This occurrence was probably the result of a mistake, but when the news of it reached this country it was called the "Dartmoor Massacre," and excited bitter feelings against England.

Dartmouth College Case.—A controversy arose in 1815–16 between the Legislature of New Hampshire and the corporation of Dartmouth College, caused chiefly by the removal of the president of that institution by the trustees in consequence of a local religious dispute. The Legislature in 1816 passed acts changing the name of Dartmouth College to Dartmouth University, and creating a new corporation, to which its property was transferred. The old trustees began suit for the recovery of the property, and in the highest court of the State were defeated. The case (The Trustees of Dartmouth College vs. Woodward) was then taken on writ of error to the United States Supreme Court. Daniel Webster made a great argument, claiming that the acts of the Legislature violated Article 1, section 10, clause 1 of the Constitution of the United States, which provides that "No State shall . . . pass any . . . law impairing the obligation of contracts," and that these acts were therefore unconstitutional and void. The decision of the Supreme Court, rendered in 1819, upheld this view. It settled the law that a charter granted to a private corporation was a contract which could not be altered in a material point without the consent of those who held it, unless the power of revision is reserved to the Legislature by a clause in the charter or a general law of the State. This decision is one of the most important ever rendered by the Supreme Court.

Davis, Jefferson, was born in Christian County, Kentucky, June 3, 1808. He graduated at West Point. In politics he was a Democrat, and as such served in the House of Representatives as member from Mississippi from 1845 to 1846. From 1847 to 1851, and from 1857 to 1861 he was in tho Senate. Under Pierce he was Secretary of War. He was one of the group of Southern Senators that was chiefly instrumental in bringing about secession. He was chosen President of the Confederacy by the provisional Congress and inaugurated. He was again chosen by a popular vote and inaugurated a second time, February 22, 1862. After the war he was imprisoned for two years and then released on bail. He was never restored to citizenship. While President of the Confederacy he was constanly interfering with his generals, his own estimate of his military attaiments being very high, and many of the Southern disasters are laid at his door. He died Dec. 6, 1889.

Davis-Wade Manifesto.—In May, 1864, a bill was introduced in Congress by Henry Winter Davis, providing for a scheme of reconstruction for States in rebellion (*see Reconstruction*). This bill was carried in both Houses, and one hour before the adjournment of Congress it was placed before the President, who refused to sign it, thus preventing its becoming a law. On July 8th the President issued a proclamation, having attached to it a copy of the bill, in which he recited these facts, and while declaring that he was not prepared to commit himself to any one plan of reconstruction, nor to set aside the new governments of Arkansas and of Louisiana, nor "to declare a constitutional competency in Congress to abolish slavery in States" (though hoping for its abolition by a constitutional amendment), he yet was satisfied with the scheme of the bill "as one very proper plan for the loyal people of any State choosing to adopt it," and to such he promised all aid in carrying it out. Thereupon Davis and Benjamin F. Wade (who had aided in preparing the bill) issued a manifesto impugning President Lincoln's motives, which they declared to be a desire to aid his own reëlection by means of the votes of Louisiana and

Arkansas, asserting that the substance of the bill had been before the country a year and that he was therefore familiar with it, but that he himself had schemed to delay it, that "he discards the authority of the Supreme Court and strides headlong toward the anarchy" he had inaugurated. The influence of the manifesto in the election was small. The bill was introduced at the next session of Congress, but it was laid on the table.

Deadhead in the Enterprise. (*See I do not Feel that I Shall Prove a Deadhead in the Enterprise if I Once Embark in It.*)

Deadlock is the state of affairs in which the business of a legislative assembly is blocked through the obstructions of a minority, or where in an election for officers by a legislative assembly neither party has sufficient votes to elect its candidate and neither will yield or compromise; as where more than a majority vote is required to elect, or there is a tie or a majority of the members (present or not present) is requisite and all cannot be induced to attend. The term is also applied to a stoppage of legislative business by reason of the refusal of either of the Houses to yield on a question on which there is a difference of opinion between them.

Debt of the United States.—The debt of the United States, as reported to the first Congress at its second session, 1790-1791, by Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, consisted of the foreign debt, domestic debt and State debts. The Secretary recommended that these latter be assumed by the general government, and after considerable discussion this was agreed to. The debt then stood:

Domestic debt	$42,414,065
Foreign debt	11,710,378
State debts (as finally assumed)	18,271,786
Total	$72,396,249

The foreign debt consisted of money due in France, Holland and Spain, for loans made to us during the Revolution.

In 1836 the treasury had on hand a surplus of over $40,000,000, all but $5,000,000 of which was ordered by Congress to be distributed among the States, on certain conditions and in four installments. Three of these were paid, but the turn taken by financial affairs rendered the payment of the fourth inexpedient. The increase between 1847 and 1849 was due to the Mexican War. Between 1852 and 1857 over $53,000,000 of the debt was purchased in the market by the government, about $8,000,000 being paid as premium. After the panic of 1857 the debt began to increase; the sudden enormous increase in 1862 was caused by the Civil War. During that struggle in 1866 the debt reached the highest point in the history of the country, and since then it has been paid off so rapidly that the problem now before the country is not how to raise money, but to keep down the revenues. (*See Surplus*). The total amount of loans issued by the government up to the outbreak of the Civil War was $505,353,591.95; between that time and July 1, 1880, there was issued $10,144,589,408.69; and since then 3½ per cent. bonds to the amount of $460,461,050, matured 5 and 6 per cent. bonds extended being at that rate, and 3 per cent. bonds to the amount of $304,204,350, for the purpose of extending the above-mentioned 3½ per cent. bonds. (*See Refunding of United States Debt.*)

The present debt of the United States may be divided into three parts: (1) the interest bearing debt, consisting of bonds of various denominations; (2) the debt on which interest has ceased since maturity, which is a total of overdue bonds outstanding that have never been presented for payment; (3) debt bearing no interest, which includes old demand notes, the legal-tender notes, certificates of deposit, and gold and silver certificates. The total debt of the United States according to the last report of the treasury Department, December, 1891, was $1,546,961,695.61, and the cash balance in the Treasury was $139,126,917.96.

Below is given a statement of the debt since July 1, 1856, being debt less cash in the treasury.

YEAR.	NET DEBT.
1856	$10,965,953
1857	9,998,621
1858	37,900,191
1859	53,405,234
1860	59,964,402
1861	87,718,660
1862	505,312,752
1863	1,111,350,737
1864	1,709,452,277
1865	2,674,815,856
1865	2,756,431,571
1866	2,636,036,163
1867	2,508,151,211
1868	2,480,853,413
1869	2,432,771,873
1870	2,331,169,956
1871	2,246,994,068
1872	2,149,780,530
1873	2,105,462,060
1874	2,104,149.152
1875	2,090,041,170
1876	2,060,925,340
1877	2,019,275,431
1878	1.999,382,280
1879	1,996,414,905
1880	1,919,326,747
1881	1,819,650,154
1882	1,675,023,474
1883	1,538,781,825
1884	1,438,542,995
1885	1,375,352,443
1886	1,282,145,840
1887	1,279.428,737
1888, January 1	1,225,598,401
1889, December 1	1,056.081,004
1890, " 1	873,435,936
1891, " 1	798,604,945

Debt, Imprisonment for.—New York was the first State in the United States to abolish imprisonment for debt. This was done in 1831, and the example was shortly followed by the other States; and though there is great difference in the insolvent laws of the several States, they all permit debtors their freedom—except in cases wherein dishonesty or peculation renders the debtor also amenable to the Penal Code.

Decatur, Stephen, was born at Sinnepuxent, Md., January 5, 1779, and entered the navy in 1798. During the war with Tripoli he led a small party which burned the Philadelphia, an American vessel, which had been captured by, and was in possession of the enemy. For his bravery on this occasion he was promoted to the rank of captain. In 1815 he led a squadron against the

Algeraines, captured several of their vessels, and compelled the Dey to seek peace. He was killed by Commodore James Barron, in a duel, on March 22, 1820.

Decentralization.—Broad construction of the Constitution tends to the centralization of power in the Federal government. Strict construction leads to decentralization, giving more power to the States. (*See Construction of the Constitution.*)

Declaration of Independence.—The struggle of the American colonies against Great Britain was begun without any general idea of pushing the matter to a separation from the mother country. Though the idea of forming an independent government was favored in New England, it was so distasteful to the other colonies that Congress formally disavowed it July 6, 1775. However, the idea gained ground largely during the following year, and no one thing aided more in its spread than the publication of Thomas Paine's pamphlet, "Common Sense." This struck the keynote of the situation by advocating, with forcible logic, an assertion of independence on the part of the colonies, and the formation of a republican government. The Pennsylvania Legislature so well appreciated the value of Paine's pamphlet that it gave him a grant of $2,500 in consideration of it. In May, 1776, the Virginia Convention instructed its delegates to propose a resolution for independence. This was done June 7 by Richard Henry Lee. In the year 1826, after all save one of the band of patriots whose signatures are borne on the Declaration of Independence had descended to the tomb, and the venerable Carroll alone remained among the living, the government of the City of New York deputed a committee to wait on the illustrious survivor. They obtained from him, for deposit in the public hall of the city, a copy of the Declaration of 1776 graced and authenticated anew with his sign-manual.

On June 10, 1776, the Colonial Congress assembled at Philadelphia, resolved that a committee should be appointed to prepare a declaration "that the United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States." Such action was taken and the

committee consisted of Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman and Robert R. Livingston. A draft was reported by this committee on June 28th. On July 2d a resolution was adopted declaring the colonies free and independent States. Finally, on July 4th, the Declaration of Independence was agreed to, engrossed on paper and signed by John Hancock, President. It was afterward engrossed on parchment and signed with the names given below. The document is almost entirely from the pen of Thomas Jefferson, few changes having been made in his original draft. One of the most striking passages of the original draft, omitted in the declaration as finally adopted, is the following: "He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people, who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of *infidel* powers, is the warfare of the CHRISTIAN King of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where MEN should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce; and that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished dye, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty, of which *he* has deprived them, by murdering the people upon whom *he* also obtruded them, thus paying off former crimes committed against the *liberties* of one people with crimes which he urges them to commit against the *lives* of another." Below is given the declaration as adopted:

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

A Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, July 4, 1776.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers

of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these, are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having, in direct object, the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world:

He has refused to assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature; a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the State remaining, in the meantime, exposed to all the danger of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose, obstructing the laws for naturalization of

foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined, with others, to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them by a mock trial, from punishment, for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing taxes on us without our consent:

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefit of trial by jury:

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offenses:

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies:

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the powers of our governments:

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravished our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun, with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections among us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress, in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts made by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace, friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And, for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other, our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor.

JOHN HANCOCK.

New Hampshire.—Josiah Bartlett, Wm. Whipple, Matthew Thornton.

Massachusetts Bay.—Saml. Adams, John Adams, Robt. Treat Paine, Elbridge Gerry.

Rhode Island, etc.—Steph. Hopkins, William Ellery.

Connecticut.—Roger Sherman, Sam'l Huntington, Wm. Williams, Oliver Wolcott.

New York.—Wm. Floyd, Phil. Livingston, Frans. Lewis, Lewis Morris.

New Jersey.—Richd. Stockton, Jno. Witherspoon, Frans. Hopkinson, John Hart, Abra. Clark.

Pennsylvania.—Robt. Morris, Benjamin Rush, Benja. Franklin, John Morton, Geo. Clymer, Jas. Smith, Geo. Taylor, James Wilson, Geo. Ross.

Delaware.—Cæsar Rodney, Geo. Read, Tho. M'Kean.

Maryland.—Samuel Chase, Wm. Paca, Thos. Stone, Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

Virginia.—George Wythe, Richard Henry Lee, Thos. Jefferson, Benja. Harrison, Thos. Nelson, Jr., Francis Lightfoot Lee, Carter Braxton.

North Carolina.—Wm. Hooper, Joseph Hewes, John Penn.

South Carolina.—Edward Rutledge, Thomas Heyward, Jr., Thomas Lynch, Jr., Arthur Middleton.

Georgia.—Button Gwinnett, Lyman Hall, Geo. Walton.

Decoration Day. — The observance of "Decoration Day" has grown spontaneously from the tender remembrance by the mothers, sisters, younger brothers, and all who survived the war for the Union, of the heroes who perished that we might live to enjoy a united, free, and just government. The practice of setting aside a day to visit the graves of their fallen soldiers, recall the memory of their noble deeds, and strew their tombs with flowers, took its rise early in the late war: first in particular places, here a city, there a village, or it might be a county. In some places it was on one day, in others on another. After a time the practice became more general. In some cases governors recommended the observance of a particular day; but there was no wide extended agreement. In time, partly through the influence of leading members of the Christian commission, which had done so much for soldiers during the war, partly through the influence of the pulpit and press, and, finally, through the systematic efforts of the Grand Army of the Republic and various veteran soldier associations, many State legislatures were induced to make a given day a legal holiday for this purpose, and the president and governors were led to unite in recommending the observance of the same day, now known as "Decoration Day" in nearly every State of the Union. Precisely when, or in what community, the first instance of calling upon the citizens in general to come together for this purpose took place, it seems to be impossible at this late day to determine. It is claimed that there were instances of this kind as early as the spring of 1863, some say as early as the summer of 1862.

De Fuca Explorations.—The boundary line on the far northwest had for many years been a serious question between the United States and Great Britain. That part of the Pacific coast had been visited, on behalf of Spain, by the Greek pilot De Fuca in 1592, by Admiral Fonte in 1640, and by subsequent explorers, who had mapped a great portion of it as far as the fifty-fifth degree north latitude. The Nootka treaty of 1790, between Spain and Great Britain, only gave the latter some fishing and trading rights in the vicinity of Puget Sound. The discovery and exploration of Columbia River by Captain Robert Gray, an American, who gave the name of his vessel to the river; the purchase of Louisiana and all that belonged to it to the Pacific from the French in 1803, their claim being the best, next to that of Spain; the exploration of Columbia River from its sources to its mouth by Lewis and Clarke, by order of the United States, in 1804–5; and the treaty of limits concluded between Spain and the United States in 1819, by which all the territory north of forty-two degrees north latitude was expressly declared to belong to the United States, were held to be sufficient proofs of the title of the United States to that territory. Still Great Britain laid claim to a large portion of the region. Captain Winship, a hardy New Englander, in 1810 built a house on the Columbia, but the floods came and the winds blew, and it fell the same year and the settlement was abandoned. The fort and fur-trading house at Astoria, established in 1811 by John Jacob Astor, were given up to the British, who were then engaged in the prosecution of the war of 1812. The place was then named Fort George. Subsequently it passed into the control of the Hudson Bay Company, and a feeble attempt was made to cultivate the soil. In the "forties" the immigration was large, and in '43 they formed a provisional government. For years previous to these events the boundary line question had been the subject of correspondence between Great Britain and the United States. At times the question

became so serious as to threaten the peaceful relations of the two countries, and the subject so much absorbed public attention that the Democratic National Convention of 1844 in its platform declared for a certain boundary line or war as a consequence. (*See Northwest Boundary.*)

De Facto and De Jure.—These terms are generally used in connection with the holding of office. One who has actual possession of an office and exercises its functions is said to be an officer *de facto*, or in fact; one who is entitled to an office, but does not actually fill it, is said to be an officer *de jure*, or by right. A *de facto* officer may hold his office without wrongful intent, though without legal sanction, as when there have been technical irregularities in the appointment, or when the law under which he was appointed is afterward declared unconstitutional by the courts. The acts of a *de facto* incumbent are valid as respects third persons and the public generally if the officer holds his position by color of right (that is, with supposed authority based on reasonable grounds), if he holds it with some degree of notoriety, if he is actually in exercise of continuous official acts, or if he is in actual possession of a public office. For application of these terms in 1877 to Hayes and Tilden, *see Presidents De Facto and De Jure.*

Defender of the Constitution.—A name applied to Daniel Webster, principally by reason of his second speech in reply to Robert Y. Hayne in the Senate. (*See Foot's Resolution.*)

Deficiency Bill. (*See Appropriations.*)

De Golyer Contract.—In 1872 the Board of Public Works at Washington had under advisement about forty different kinds of pavement, one of which it intended to select for use. James A. Garfield was retained by the attorney of the De Golyer and McClellan patent to prepare a brief on this patent and to argue its merits before the board, the attorney himself having been called away from Washington. For these services he received a fee of $5,000. It was charged, and the

charge was revived during the presidential campaign of 1880, that Garfield had done no work to deserve this fee, which had been given, it was said, as a bribe to influence his action in Congress, and especially as chairman of the Appropriations Committee of the House. On the other hand, it was shown that he did considerable laborious work in connection with the matter, and that, moreover, the money required had already been voted, so that the alleged bribe would have been on the rather remote contingency of a deficiency and a consequent additional appropriation. Moreover, the objections to the whole transaction were not to the pavement itself, but to the contract with the company, and with this Garfield had no connection.

Delaware was one of the original States of the Union. The capital is Dover. The population in 1880 was 146,608, in the last census (1890) is 168,493. Delaware sends only one member to the House of Representatives, and has but three electoral votes. Since 1860 it has voted for the Democratic national candidates, except in 1872, and the Democratic vote has been, as a rule, steadily increasing. It took its name from the river and bay, which, in turn, were named after Lord De la Ware, one of the early Governors of Virginia. It is familiarly known as the Diamond State from its shape, and the Blue Hen State from a game breed of fighting cocks of which the State was proud. (*See Governors; Legislatures.*)

Democrat.—Thus did the Federalists call all their opponents. Of these only a portion accepted the title, and after 1810 Democrat and Democratic may be taken as synonymous. The word as first used was intended to denote revolutionary tendencies. (*See Democratic Society.*)

Democratic Clubs. (*See Democratic Society.*)

Democratic Invincible Club. (*See American Knights.*)

Democratic Party. (*See Democratic-Republican Party.*)

Democratic Reading-Room. (*See American Knights.*)

Democratic - Republican Party.— This party, known first as the Republican, then as the Democratic-Republican, and generally in our own time, merely as the Democratic party, has as its fundamental principles the limitation of the powers of the federal government to those granted by the letter of the Constitution and the increase of the direct influence of the people in the affairs of the government. Though the party has from time to time swerved from these principles, when the exigencies of the political situation seemed to demand it (and the slavery question caused very violent fluctuations of this nature), yet to these principles it has always returned, and while acting on them its greatest successes have been gained. The adoption of the Constitution left the anti-Federal party without a cause; there was no organized opposition to the Federal party, to which most of the prominent men of the time belonged, and from it the Republican party, as the Democratic-Republican party was first called, was but gradually differentiated. The financial measures of Hamilton clearly showed his purpose of applying to the Constitution loose principles of construction, and his proposals to assume the State debts, and later to incorporate the United States bank, and to levy a tax on distilled spirits, were the first measures that marked a divergence in the Federal party. Madison, Jefferson and Randolph opposed these measures as unconstitutional. As was natural, the following of Hamilton consisted largely of the commercial interests, while the agricultural interests as naturally favored a view tending to localize political power. It was not until 1792 that the party thus segregated, was known by the name of Republican. Those that were then known as Democrats, agitating, loud-mouthed and abusive partisans of France, in the war she was then engaged in, were not acknowledged by the Republicans as their party, though the two were frequently united in action; in the third House, the Republicans elected their candidate for Speaker, and the merging of the two factions was hastened by this event, though, for some time thereafter, the line between the two was plainly visible within the

party; thereafter it was known as the Democratic-Republican party. John Adams succeeded Washington as President, defeating Jefferson by a majority of but three electoral votes. The alien and sedition laws aided in rendering Adams' administration extremely unpopular, and in the next presidential contest the small Federalist majority was overcome and Jefferson was elected President by the House of Representatives, into which the election had been thrown by a tie in the electoral college. The party as now constituted aimed at strict construction, an elective judiciary, reduction of expenditure (on this ground they opposed a navy), and, as a consequence, thereof, a reduction of taxation, and the extension of the suffrage. The party was so successful that before 1805 the State governments of all but two of the States (Vermont and Connecticut) were in their hands, and they controlled the Senate and House of Representatives. The purchase of Lousiana by Jefferson, though enthusiastically commended everywhere, was a palpable deviation from strict construction, as was also the embargo; to this latter step the party was forced by its previous policy of refusing to establish a navy. The failure of the embargo occasioned a change in party feeling, and as a result war against England was declared in 1812. The war increased the national feeling, the restriction of trade preceding the war and incident to it, had fostered manufactures to maintain which the party was forced to adopt a tariff slightly protective, and the financial difficulties raised by the war led to the establishment of a national bank in 1816. Thus the party had been forced into a position closely resembling that of its former antagonists. These were now politically dead, the few that remained calling themselves Federal-Republicans. It was an "era of good feeling," but it was not destined to continue long. The party was soon divided into two wings, again on the general lines of strict and loose construction. John Quincy Adams was an advocate of the latter, and the opposition to him culminated in the election of Andrew Jackson as his successor. During the presidency of

Adams, his followers gradually came to be known as National Republicans, while the others first known as "Jackson men," ultimately took the name of Democrats. The former were the precursors of the Whigs. Jackson undertook to give form to his party, using the federal patronage as a means, and he was eminently successful; his own leanings were to strict construction, and the party was once more placed on that basis. A distinctively Southern and slavery faction of the party, under Calhoun, carried their opposition to the length of threatening secession, but Jackson firmly repressed the movement. (*See Nullification.*) In practice, Jackson was not uniformly consistent, but he enforced his strict construction theories in the case of the United States bank, and the adoption, under Van Buren, of the sub-treasury system, still more firmly entrenched the theory. The panic during Van Buren's administration was effectively used against him in the next campaign, and Harrison, a Whig, was elected. It was about this time that the name Loco-foco was applied to the Democratic party. Harrison died within a month after his inauguration, and was succeeded by the Vice-President, Tyler, a Calhoun Democrat. The ascendency of the Calhoun faction committed the party, in its convention of 1844, to the annexation of Texas. From this time forward, it vibrated between strict and loose construction, as suited its purpose, using the latter for the purpose of spreading slavery, and the former to secure it where thus established; the Calhoun faction was first and foremost a pro-slavery party. The election of Polk was in great part due to the Liberty party. His successor, Taylor, was a Whig, but his election was owing to local dissensions among the Democrats, and Fillmore, who became President on Taylor's death, was succeeded by Pierce, a Democrat. Northern Democrats were not in favor of slavery, but they regarded it as the policy of their party to ignore the question; Southern Whigs were pro-slavery, and to them the question of slavery was paramount to any party ties. Buchanan, another Democrat, succeeded Pierce, but the power of the party was diminishing,

especially in the West. When it appeared that the Kansas-Nebraska bill would fail to make Kansas a slave State, the Southern section of the party took refuge in the Calhoun doctrine of the duty of government to protect slavery, and the split thus occasioned ended in dissension in the party convention at Charleston, in 1860. Douglas led the Northern Democrats, who upheld popular sovereignty; the Southern members had adopted the Calhoun view. Douglas triumphed in the convention. On this the Southern wing withdrew, to meet at Richmond; the Douglas wing adjourned to Baltimore, where further dissensions caused the withdrawal of many of the border States. These latter, aided by the original seceders, nominated John C. Breckenridge; Douglas was named by his party. These conflicts in the party resulted in the election of Lincoln, the Republican candidate. The Civil War followed. During that struggle the party was uniformly opposed to the government measures, rendered necessary by the anomalous condition of the country. The secession of the Southern States had deprived them of most of their members in Congress, and in the North only New York and New Jersey had Democratic Governors. Their convention of 1864 denounced the war measures of the Republicans, declared the war a failure and demanded the cessation of hostilities. On this issue they were overwhelmingly defeated. The reconstruction measures of the Republicans, notably the Civil Rights bill, were strenuously opposed by the Democrats, and opposition to this was made the most prominent feature of the party creed, and in its desire to repress the negroes, the party swerved from its old principle of the extension of suffrage. In 1872, the action of the Liberal-Republicans helped in clearing away these dogmas, which had greatly hampered the party, and aided by the financial depression of 1873, and by the disfavor with which Grant's second term was regarded, the party made large gains, carrying the State elections in many of the Northern States, and getting a majority in the House. Tilden, the Democratic candidate for President in 1876, had a popular majority over

Hayes, the Republican, but the result of the electoral vote was in doubt, and the election was finally awarded to Hayes. (*See Electoral Commission.*) Their next candidate, Hancock, was likewise defeated. The action of the party, after the war, in opposing negro suffrage, had tended to consolidate Southern whites in its favor, while the memories of the war have been a strong rallying point for the Republicans in the North, so that, generally speaking, the latter has been Republican, the former Democratic. In 1884, Cleveland, a Democrat, was elected President, the deciding State being New York, which he carried by a plurality of only 1,047, in a total vote of over 1,100,000. His election was partly owing to dissatisfaction of many of the Republicans with their candidate. The Democratic party has generally been in favor of a "tariff for revenue only," but a strong minority favors protection, and its platform has attempted to meet the views of both wings; the President's message to the Fiftieth Congress, dealing as it did, exclusively with the tariff, and strongly advocating its reduction, probably tended to identify the party more thoroughly than before with that view. It is difficult, as the parties now stand, to draw a sharp line between them; the Democratic party still stands as the representative of stricter construction than the Republican, and the declaration of a Supreme Court, appointed by Republican Presidents, of the unconstitutionality of the Civil Rights bill, and its decision in the Virginia bond cases, seems to justify its position; both parties profess devotion to Civil Service Reform, and while the Republican party has consistently favored cessation of the coinage of depreciated silver dollars, the Democrats, owing to divided opinions within the party, have failed to act. But the immediate future may see great changes in both parties.

Democratic Rooster.—The emblems of the Democratic party at the time of Jackson's administration were the hickory pole and broom. About 1840, in Indiana there lived a man named Chapman, a Democrat, who had a local reputation for exercising his vocal organs

in the way of crowing. One story says that in answer to a desponding letter of Chapman's concerning the political situation, a friend wrote an encouraging letter ending with the words, "Crow, Chapman, crow!" Another account makes the letter pass between two friends, and close with the words, "Tell Chapman to crow." The letter, whichever it was, was published, and the phrase spread. In 1842 and 1844, after Whig defeats, the rooster came into general use as the Democratic emblem of victory.

Democratic Society.—In 1793, during the war between England and France, while Citizen Genet was active here on behalf of the latter, a society on the plan of the Jacobin clubs of France was formed in Philadelphia. It was founded for the purpose of encouraging sympathy for France, of scrupulously examining all governmental innovations, and generally (it was asserted) to guard the rights of man. The club soon had branches everywhere, the one at Charleston going so far as to seek and obtain recognition as a branch of the Jacobin Club of Paris. The career of the society was marked by abuse of the excise laws and of the government. The overthrow of Robespierre and the suppression of the Jacobin clubs of France dealt it a fatal blow, however, and it disappeared after the year 1794.

Demonetization of Silver.—To demonetize a metal is to take from it its standard value and thus make it a commodity merely. (*See Silver Question.*)

Departments of the Government. (*See Interior, Department of the; Justice, Department of; Navy, Department of the; Post-Office Department; State Department; Treasury Department; War Department.*)

Deposit Banks.—The State banks in which government funds were deposited when President Jackson had them removed from the Bank of the United States were so called. They were also called Pet Banks.

Deposits, Removal of. (*See Removal of Government Deposits from the United States Bank.*)

Deseret. (*See Mormons.*)

Dickinson, Don M., was at one time Postmaster Gen-

eral of the United States. By profession a lawyer, he has been prominent as a Democratic politician in his State, Michigan. In 1876 he was chairman of the Democratic State Committee, and in 1884 he became a member of the Democratic National Committee. He was appointed Postmaster-General by Cleveland in December, 1887, and his name was confirmed by the Senate January 17, 1888.

Died of an Attempt to Swallow the Fugitive Slave Law.—This was said of the Whig party, the eighth resolution of its platform of 1852 having been an elaborate statement to the effect that the party recognized that law as a portion of the final settlement regarding slavery, unless "evasion" or "the abuse of their powers" should demand further steps, and recommending that the agitation of the subject be dropped. The party was practically destroyed in the election that followed.

Die in the Last Ditch.—William of Orange, when the destruction of the United Provinces appeared unavoidable, exclaimed: "There is one certain means by which I can be sure never to see my country's ruin—I will die in the last ditch." The phrase is often used to indicate an intention to persevere in a course of action to the last extremity.

Diplomatic Service. (*See Foreign Service.*)

Disability of Rebels. (*See Proclamation of Amnesty.*)

Disability of the President.—Disability signifies lack of qualfication; inability, lack of power. A man that is not a natural-born citizen of this country is disabled from occupying the presidential chair. A President stricken with insanity is unable to act as President. The word "disability" is commonly used when "inability" is meant. The Constitution, Article 2, section 1, clause 6, provides for the succession in case of the removal, death, resignation or inability of the President. (*See Presidential Succession.*) There is, however, no provision, nor can there be any, to indicate what degree of inability shall shift the office to the Vice-President.

In the case, for example, of the insanity of the President, in which it is not probable that he himself will realize his condition, or give notice of it, it must be left to the Vice-President to assume the office at his discretion, leaving the determination of the question, in case of a contest, to the courts.

Disgruntled is a word of recent coinage. It is applied to politicians that have been disappointed, and that are, as a consequence, disaffected. The word *to gruntle* means to sulk, and disgruntle is probably a more emphatic form of gruntle.

Disputed Presidential and Vice-Presidential Elections.—The original method of choosing the President and Vice-President is prescribed in Article 2, section 1, clause 3, of the Constitution; the Twelfth Amendment, ratified September 25, 1804, altered that method to its present form. There have been three controversies in regard to the presidency and one in regard to the vice-presidency.

I. When the electoral votes were counted in 1801 it was found that Jefferson and Burr had each received 73, being a majority of all the electors, each elector having two votes. On the House of Representatives was therefore thrown the task of deciding between them. All but two of the members were present; one had died and one was ill; another, though ill, was carried to the House in his bed. Rules were adopted as follows: The public was to be excluded, the Senate to be admitted; there was to be no adjournment, and no other business was to be considered until a choice had been arrived at; States were to sit together; duplicate statements of the vote of each State were to be prepared and to be cast into two different ballot-boxes, to be passed around by the sergeant-at-arms. The word "divided" was to be used in the cases of States that could not agree. The contents of the two ballot-boxes were then to be counted by tellers, of whom one was to be appointed by each State. The agreement of the boxes was to be the test of the correctness of the vote. The Federalists, obliged to choose between two Republicans, at first supported

Burr, though not unanimously. The balloting continued for seven days with no choice. At length, February 17th, the Federalists' chief, James A. Bayard, of Delaware, having obtained from Jefferson assurances that he would maintain the navy and the public credit, and that he would not remove Federalist office-holders for party causes, decided to end the struggle, and on the thirty-seventh ballot three members in Vermont and Maryland by voting blank gave these States to Jefferson, who was thus elected.

II. There was practically but one party in 1824, and the contest in that year was between John Quincy Adams, Andrew Jackson, William Crawford and Henry Clay, all Republicans. Their electoral votes were respectively, 84, 99, 41, 37. None having a majority, the election went to the House, which was obliged to choose from the highest three; Clay was thus excluded, and his strength went to Adams, between whose views and those of Clay there was marked agreement, and Adams carrying thirteen States was elected. Jackson carried seven States and Crawford four. The House had adopted the rules of 1801. Adams made Clay his Secretary of State, the price, it was alleged, of Clay's support and influence in the House.

III. The third and latest presidential dispute differed from the others. In 1876 four States had each sent in several disagreeing returns. The question arose as to which was to be recognized. The Democratic nominees, Tilden and Hendricks, had indisputably received 184 votes, one less than a majority. The votes of South Carolina, Florida and Louisiana, and one vote from Oregon, being twenty in all, were in doubt, differing returns having been made, owing, in the first three States, to the rejection by the Returning Boards of votes alleged to be fraudulent. To settle the matter the Electoral Commission (*which see*) was created. It decided in favor of the Republican, Hayes, and as only the concurrent vote of both Houses could overthrow the result, its decision stood; the Republican Senate voting to sustain, the Democratic House to reject. One elector

in each of five States was objected to as ineligible because holding federal office, but both Houses consented to admit these votes.

IV. The only distinctively vice-presidential contest was in 1837, when Richard M. Johnson received 147 votes, to 147 for all the other candidates. The Senate, thus compelled to choose between the highest two, gave 33 votes to Johnson and 16 to Francis Granger; Johnson was thus elected.

District Court. (*See Judiciary.*)

District of Columbia, The, originally included sixty-four square miles ceded to the national government by Maryland in 1788 and thirty-six square miles ceded by Virginia in 1789. The District was organized by acts of July 16, 1790, and March 3, 1791. In 1800 the national seat of government was removed to Washington. (*See Capital of the United States.*) In 1801 Congress took complete control of the District, and the inhabitants had no representation in that body till 1871, when it was organized like the other Territories of the United States. By act of June 20, 1874, however, a government by three commissioners, appointed by the President, was established. In 1846 the portion west of the Potomac was retroceded to Virginia. The capital is Washington. The population in 1880 was 177,624, and in 1890, 230,392.

Dixie.—This was the title of a song popular in the South during the Civil War. The original of it was a negro melody of the time when slavery existed in New York, where a Mr. Dixy, or Dixie, owned many slaves. His estate was known among them as "Dixie's Land." During the war the South was commonly spoken of as Dixie, or Dixie's Land.

Dollar of our Dads.—A nickname for the silver dollar.

Don't Fire Till You See the Whites of their Eyes, was the order given to the Americans by Colonel Prescott at the battle of Bunker Hill. The Americans had but little powder, and it was important that none should be wasted.

Don't Give Up the Ship.—These words were used by Captain Lawrence, of the United States frigate Chesapeake, as he was being carried below, mortally wounded, during the action between that vessel and the British frigate Shannon during the War of 1812. The Chesapeake was obliged to strike her colors. The words were inscribed on the blue pennant that Commodore Oliver H. Perry carried at his masthead during the battle of Lake Erie later in the same year.

Door-keeper.—The door-keeper of the House of Representatives is elected by the House; the door-keeper of the Senate is appointed by the sergeant-at-arms. The door-keeper has charge of the legislative chamber and its contents, and superintendence of the document and folding-rooms. He enforces the rules relating to the admission of persons not members, and appoints the assistant door-keepers and the pages.

Dorr Rebellion.—In 1840 Connecticut and Rhode Island were the only States that were still governed by their colonial charters. The charter of the latter State, imposing, as it did, a property qualification so high as to disfranchise two-thirds of the citizens, was extremely unpopular. A proposition of Thomas W. Dorr, of Providence, to extend the franchise was voted down. Dorr then took to agitation, and finally a convention prepared a constitution and submitted it to a popular vote. Its supporters claimed a majority for it, which its opponents, known as the law and order party, denied. Nevertheless, in 1842 the constitution was proclaimed to be in force. An election was held under it, only the suffrage party participating. Dorr was elected Governor. The suffrage Legislature assembled at Providence with Thomas W. Dorr as Governor; the charter Legislature at Newport, with Samuel W. King as Governor. After transacting some business the suffrage Legislature adjourned. The charter Legislature authorized the Governor to take energetic steps, and an appeal for aid was made to the national government. The suffragists attempted armed resistance, but were dispersed. Dorr fled, but soon returned and gave himself

up. He was convicted of high treason in 1844, and sentenced to imprisonment for life, but was pardoned in 1847, and in 1852 was restored to his civil rights. The charter party soon after the rebellion proposed a new constitution, largely extending the suffrage, which was carried and went into effect in May, 1843.

Dorsey Combination. (*See Star Route Trials.*)

Double Standard. (*See Single Standard.*)

Dough-face.—On one occasion during the discussion of the Missouri Bill in 1820, eighteen Northern members of the House of Representatives voted with the Southern members. John Randolph, of Roanoke, stigmatized these members as "dough-faces." The term signifies one who is easily molded by personal or unworthy motives to forsake his principles. It was generally applied to Northern men who favored slavery, but has also occasionally been used in referring to Southerners who did not keep step with their section on the slavery question.

Douglas, Stephen Arnold, was born at Brandon, Vermont, April 23, 1813, and died at Chicago, Illinois, June 3, 1861. He was a lawyer, practising in Illinois where he became judge of the State Supreme Court. He was in the House from 1843 to 1847, and in the Senate from 1847 until his death. He was a Democrat, but on the question of the Lecompton constitution for Kansas, Douglas separated from the Southern Democracy. Lincoln was his opponent for Senator in 1858, and on that occasion a series of seven joint debates were held between them, attracting much attention.

Draft Riots.—The attempt to enforce the draft in 1863 (*see Drafts*) led to serious troubles in some sections of the country. Pennsylvania was disturbed in this way, but New York City was the scene of the greatest outrages. On July 13th a mob gained control of the city, and was not dispersed till four days had elapsed. The police force was too small to cope with the rioters, but a small force of United States regulars could be commanded, and the militia were absent at the seat of war. The enmity of the mob was directed especially

against the negroes, several of them being hanged or otherwise killed, and the Colored Orphan Asylum being burned. Finally the regulars, the police and some militia that had returned after the battle of Gettysburg succeeded in quelling the riot. It is estimated that about 1,000 persons lost their lives, and the city was obliged to pay indemnities for loss of property amounting to over $1,500,000.

Drafts, or conscriptions for obtaining men for the military forces of the government, depend on the general principle that it is the duty of a citizen who enjoys the protection of a government to defend it. The State constitutions make citizens liable to military duty, and the Constitution of the United States (Article 1, section 8, clause 12) gives Congress power to raise armies, which the courts have held includes the right of conscription. During the war of 1812 the necessity for troops led to the introduction of a bill in Congress, known as the "Draft of 1814," providing for a draft from the militia, but it failed to pass. During the Civil War the need of soldiers occasioned the passage of the Conscription Bill, which became law on March 3, 1863 (afterwards amended in February and July, 1864). This bill provided for the enrollment of all able-bodied citizens between 18 and 45 years of age. In default of volunteers to fill the quota from a congressional district, the deficiency was to be supplied by drafts from the enrolled citizens. Provisions were made for the acceptance of substitutes or a commutation of $300 in place of the drafted individual. Persons refusing obedience were to be considered as deserters. A call for 300,000 troops was made by the President in May, and the application of the draft created serious riots. (*See Draft Riots.*) It was alleged that a disproportionate number of men had been demanded from Democratic districts; these discrepancies were corrected by the War Department. In October, 1863, the President issued another call for 300,000 men, and a draft was ordered for the following January to supply any deficiencies. Other drafts were subsequently made. The operation of the drafts was not satisfactory in the num-

ber of men directly obtained, and desertions were frequent among such as were drafted, but voluntary enlistments were quickened. The Confederate States had very stringent conscription laws, which were rigidly enforced.

Drawbacks. (*See Protection.*)

Dred Scott Case.—Dred Scott was a negro slave of Dr. Emerson, United States Army. In 1834 Dr. Emerson was ordered from Missouri to Rock Island, Illinois, where slavery was prohibited by statute, and in 1836 to Fort Snelling, in what is now Minnesota, but then a territory. Scott went with him, and at Fort Snelling married Harriet, another of his master's slaves. In 1838, after a child had been born to them, they returned with their master to St. Louis. In 1848 Scott brought a suit in the State courts, involving the question of his freedom, and obtained a verdict in his favor, which was, however, reversed by the Supreme Court of Missouri. Shortly afterward he was sold to J. F. A. Sandford, of New York, against whom he at once began a similar suit in the United States Courts. The case was carried to the United States Supreme Court, and on March 6, 1857, Chief-Justice Roger Brooke Taney, of Maryland, announced the decision. The court held that Scott had no right to sue because, even if he were free, no colored person was regarded by the Constitution as a citizen. He says "they had for more than a century before been regarded as . . . so far inferior that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect." After deciding this, the question at issue, the court went out of its way to declare the Missouri compromise void, and to deny the right of Congress to exclude slavery from any territory. Of the associate justices six supported the Chief Justice, and two, McLean of Ohio and Curtis of Massachusetts, dissented. The opinion was for a time withheld from publication, in order not to increase the excitement of the Presidential election then pending.

Drys.—A term used chiefly, if not exclusively, in Georgia, and applied to the Prohibitionists; opposed to "wets."

Dudes and Pharisees.—The word "dude" has long been a portion of the slang of the language. It means a beau, a man scrupulously careful about and at the same time zealously subdued in his dress. The phrase Dudes and Pharisees was, in the presidential campaign of 1884, applied to those Republicans that refused to vote for Blaine. They were also called Mugwumps (*which see*). The word dude is intended to represent the over-carefulness and scrupulousness of these voters, while the word pharisees is intended to represent the "holier than thou" spirit which is attributed to them.

Duties.—For customs duties, ad valorem, specific, compound, discriminating and minimum duties, see *Customs Duties.*

East Florida. (*See Annexations II.*)

Edmunds' Anti-Poligamy Bill. (*See Mormons.*)

Edmunds' Electoral Bill was the act creating the *Electoral Commission* (*which see*). It was introduced into the Senate by George F. Edmunds, of Vermont, passed Congress and was approved by the President January 29, 1877.

Edmunds, George F., was born in Richmond, Vermont February 1, 1828. He is a lawyer. He served five years in the Legislature, acting as Speaker during three years, and in the State Senate two years, during which he acted as presiding officer. In 1866 he entered the United States Senate, in which he has since served. In March, 1883, he was elected President of the Senate *pro tempore.*

Election Bets.—New York and Wisconsin are the only States in the Union in which a voter becomes disqualified by reason of being interested in a bet depending on the election at which he attempts to vote. Article 2, section 2, of the Constitution of New York State reads: "No person . . . who shall make or become directly or indirectly interested in any bet or wager, depending upon the result of any election, shall vote at such election." Then follows directions as to the challenging of the votes of betters.

Electoral College is the name given to the presi-

dential electors of a State when convened for the purpose of casting their votes for President and Vice-President. The term came into use about the year 1821, but it was first officially used in the law of January 23, 1845.

Elections, Contested or Disputed. (*See Contested Elections; Disputed Presidential and Vice-Presidential Elections.*)

Electoral Commission, The.—In the presidential election in 1876, four States each sent in different and differing returns, each set having some claims to be considered regular. Aside from the doubtful votes the Democratic nominees, Tilden and Hendricks, lacked but one vote to a majority. The twenty-second joint rule of the houses, ordering the rejection of any electoral votes to which objection should be made, unless accepted by the concurrent vote of both Houses, had been repealed by the Republican Senate in January, 1876; its application would have elected Tilden. To pass upon the conflicting returns the Electoral Commission was created by act of Congress approved January 29, 1877. Four justices of the Supreme Court (those assigned to certain circuits specified in the bill) were made members of the commission; these four were to select a fifth justice; with these five were to sit five members of the Senate and five of the House, each House to elect its own representatives. To this commission was delegated the power in the premises of "the two Houses acting separately or together," and its decisions were to be reversed only by the concurrent action of both Houses. The commissson was constituted as follows (Democrats in *Italic*, Republicans in Roman): Senators—George F. Edmunds, Vermont; Oliver P. Morton, Indiana; Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, New Jersey; *Thomas F. Bayard*, Delaware; *Allen G. Thurman*, Ohio (the latter having become ill *Francis Kernan*, New York, was substituted). Representatives—*Henry B. Payne*, Ohio; *Eppa Hunton*, Virginia; *Josiah G. Abbott*, Massachusetts; James A. Garfield, Ohio; George F. Hoar, Massachusetts. Supreme Court—*Nathan Clifford*, President of the Commission; William Strong, Samuel F. Miller, *Stephen J. Field*.

These had been designated by the act; the fifth selected by them was Joseph P. Bradley. The commission first considered the Florida returns. There were three sets. 1. The votes of the Hayes electors, with the certificate of Governor Stearns attached, according to the decision of the State Returning Board in throwing out certain returns. 2. The votes of the Tilden electors, with the certificate of the Attorney-General of the State attached, according to the actual vote cast. 3. Same as second, with the certificate of the new Governor Drew, according to a re-canvass of the votes as ordered by the State law of January 17, 1877. The Democratic counsel maintained that the returning board had improperly and illegally thrown out votes, and that the State Supreme Court had so decided, and also that one of the Hayes electors, Humphreys, when elected, held an office under the United States and was thus disqualified. The Republicans, on the contrary, declared that the commission had no power to examine into returns made in due form; that the first return was in due form; that the second had attached to it the certificate of an officer officially unknown to the United States in the capacity of certifying officer, and that the third set was also irregular, having been prepared after the electoral college had ceased in law to exist. In Humphreys' case the Republicans maintained that he had, previous to his election, sent a letter of resignation to the officer that had appointed him and that the absence of that officer was the cause of its not having been received in time. The Commission in each case sustained the Republican view by a vote of 8 to 7, a strictly party vote, February 9, 1877. Louisiana sent three returns; the first and third were identical, being the votes of the Hayes electors, as canvassed by the returning board, with the certificate of Governor Kellogg; the second contained the votes of the Tilden electors based on the votes as actually cast, with the certificate of John McEnery, who claimed to be Governor. The Democrats maintained that the returning board had illegally cast out votes; that two Hayes electors were United States officers; that McEnery was the rightful

Governor, and various violations of State election laws, all of which they offered to prove. The Republican claims, similar to those in the case of Florida, were again upheld by a vote of 8 to 7, February 16, 1877. In Oregon one of the three electors, Watts, was, when elected a United States officer, being thus disqualified; the Democratic Governor, Grover, had given a certificate to the other two Hayes electors and to Cronin, the highest Tilden elector. The popular vote was not called in question. The Hayes electors refused to serve with Cronin and elected a third Hayes elector, as they were by the law entitled to do, while Cronin, by reason of their refusal to serve with him, appointed two other electors; these voted for Hayes. There were thus two returns, one consisting of three Hayes votes, attached to which was a statement of the popular vote of the State, certified by the Secretary of State, and one consisting of two Hayes votes and and one Tilden vote, with the certificate of the Governor and the Secretary of State attached. The Democrats contended that the Governor's certificate must be considered final, to which the Republicans replied that it was the duty of the Commission to see that the Governor had correctly certified the return of the canvassers of the State, and that behind these returns the Commission could not go; the Governor's certificate they could and should review. On February 23d the Commission sustained this view 8 to 7. From South Carolina there were two returns; one, the votes of Hayes electors based on the canvass of the returning board, having Governor Chamberlain's certificate attached; the other, the vote of the Tilden electors, with the mere claim of a popular election. The claim was made of military influence in the election, but the Republican return was accepted February 27th, by a vote of 8 to 7. The commission adjourned *sine die* March 2, 1877. The House voted to reject, the Senate to accept the findings of the commission, and a concurrent vote being required to reject, its decision was enforced and Hayes became President.

Electoral Count.—If Congress had passed laws ex-

actly prescribing the method of verification of the votes of electors for President and Vice-President, the operation of counting them would have been merely mechanical, and the power to do this would have remained in the hands of the President of the Senate. As it is, Congress has arrogated to itself the power of deciding the validity of returns, a proceeding not contemplated by the Constitution (*see Electoral System*), and it accomplishes this end by means of joint rules governing the action of the Houses when assembled to see the returns opened. On February 3, 1887, the President approved an act of Congress governing the electoral count. Its provisions require the electors to meet in their respective States on the second Monday in January and to cast their votes. Any contest regarding their election must be decided at least six days before, as provided by the State laws. Three lists of the electors, certified by the executive of the State, are to be prepared and to be handed to the electors to accompany their list of votes. Congress is to be in session on the second Wednesday in February to be present at the opening of the certificates. Objections to the reception of a return must be in writing, signed by one member of each House. Where objection is made to the only *lawful* return sent by a State, that return will be *rejected* only by the concurrent vote of both Houses. Where the contest is as to the competence of two or more tribunals within the State to decide which electors were chosen, a return shall be *accepted* only by the concurrent vote of both Houses. If there was no contest within the State, and two or more returns are received, that signed by the executive shall be counted unless *rejected* by the concurrent vote of both Houses.

Electoral System.—In the convention of 1787 there was diversity of opinion regarding the mode of electing the President. The majority during the greater part of the time favored his election by Congress. Other plans were for an election by the Governors, by a general popular vote, by secondary electors chosen by electors, the last to be chosen by a popular vote. The system

finally adopted is given in the Constitution, Article 2, section 1. The Twelfth Amendment (*see Amendments to the Constitution*), changing the mode to its present form, was proposed at the first session of the Eighth Congress, and first went into operation in the election of 1804. The electors of each State are to be appointed "in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct." The power thus given is not limited to appointment by a popular election, but includes *any* manner whatever, and, accordingly, in the earlier days of the government, the electors of many States were chosen by the Legislatures, a practice followed in South Carolina until 1868. In 1876 Colorado's electors were so chosen. In March, 1792, an act was passed by Congress fixing the first Wednesday in December as the day on which the electors were to meet, and they were to be elected within the thirty-four days preceding. This act required the electors to prepare three certificates of their votes, these certificates to be certified by the Governor of the State. Two were to be sent to the President of the Senate at the capital, one by mail and one by special messenger, while the third was to be placed in the hands of the federal judge of the district in which the electors voted. If neither of the former reached their destination by the first Wednesday in January, a special messenger was to be sent to the judge to obtain the third. On the second Wednesday in February, the President of the Senate was to open and count the votes. In January, 1845, an act was passed fixing the Tuesday after the first Monday of November as the day on which the electors were to be appointed. It had not heretofore been required that these appointments be made on the same day throughout the country. It also gave to the States authority to provide for filling vacancies in their electoral colleges, and to provide for cases in which the first elections have resulted in no choice. The words of the Constitution plainly provide for a count of the votes by the President of the Senate in the presence of the two Houses of Congress, and this plain meaning was, during the earlier years of the government, adhered to.

Gradual encroachments by Congress on the authority of the President of the Senate lead to the present condition in which the votes are canvassed and passed upon by the Houses, they assuming the power to accept or to reject any returns, whereas had Congress passed sufficiently minute general laws relative to the authentification of the returns (as it has power to do), no such questions could ever have arisen, and the counting would have been a mere numerical operation.

Electoral Vote. (*See Presidential and Vice-Presidential Electoral Vote.*)

Electors. (*See Electoral System.*)

Emancipation. — The Constitution of Vermont, framed in 1777, abolished slavery, but Vermont did not become a State until 1791. Massachusetts abolished slavery in 1780, while acts of gradual emancipation were passed by Pennsylvania in 1780, New Hampshire in 1783, Rhode Island in 1784, Connecticut in 1784, New Jersey in 1804. New York did likewise in 1799, but afterward passed an absolute emancipation act, to take effect July 4, 1827. The remainder of the thirteen colonies allowed slavery, and in the case of new States the question was settled at the time of admission. During the Rebellion laws were successively passed, in 1862, forbidding the return by the army of fugitive slaves, abolishing slavery in the territories, and freeing the escaped slaves of persons in rebellion. In this year, too, slavery was abolished in the District of Columbia, the owners receiving compensation. Then came the Emancipation Proclamation, followed by the Thirteenth Amendment, and slavery was at an end in 1865.

Emancipation Proclamation. — The Civil War was fought by the North to maintain the Union, not to free slaves. If proof of this were needed, it is furnished by the disavowal by President Lincoln of proclamations by Generals Fremont and Hunter, abolishing slavery in Missouri and South Carolina, respectively. Such steps as freeing the escaped slaves of rebellious owners were taken as war measures merely. On September 22, 1862, President Lincoln issued a proclamation giving

notice to the inhabitants of the States in rebellion that, unless they returned to their allegiance by January 1, 1863, he would declare their slaves forever free. This was followed on January 1, 1863, by the Emancipation Proclamation, declaring free the slaves held in all these States, except in certain districts of Louisiana and Virginia then occupied by United States troops. It enjoined upon the freed slaves to abstain from violence, and offered to receive them into the military and naval services. The proclamation declared that it was issued as an act of "military necessity" by the President as Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy. The act was heartily approved by the North, and rendered certain what had already become probable, namely, that slavery could not outlive the war.

Embargo.—An embargo is a prohibition by government authority of the departure of ships or merchandise from some or all of its ports. It may be issued as a measure of retaliation to deprive other nations of commodities, or as a war measure as a means of seizing hostile ships in port, or to secure secrecy for an important expedition, or to obtain ships for government use. When the embargo affects communication with one or certain specified nations only, it is termed non-intercourse.

Embargo Act.—In May, 1806, Great Britain, which was at that time engaged in a bitter war with France, proclaimed a blockade of the territory bordering on the English Channel and the German Ocean from Brest to the Elbe. Napoleon retaliated in November by his Berlin Decree, declaring a blockade of English ports. A year later England issued her famous Orders in Council, prohibiting commerce with almost every country of Europe. The next month, December, 1807, Napoleon replied with the Milan Decree, forbidding commerce with England or her colonies. These and similar acts, although in violation of the laws of nations, were enforced by France and England so far as they were able, and many American vessels were seized. Moreover, Great Britain revived an old rule prohibiting neutral

vessels from trading with the dependencies of any nation with whom she was at war. She also claimed and exercised the right of searching American vessels for those whom she claimed to be her subjects and impressing them into her service. In maintaining this position, the British man-of-war Leopard, in June, 1807, fired on the American frigate Chesapeake. It was in consequence of these events, although news of the Milan Decree had not yet been received, that Congress on December 22, 1807, passed an Embargo Act prohibiting exportations from the United States, hoping to force France and England to recede from their position by showing the importance of our commercial relations. It had some effect on these nations, but a far more ruinous result on our own commerce, the exports for 1808 shrinking to one-fifth of the sum they had reached in the preceding year. It was a measure of the Democratic party, and was approved by the agricultural portions of the United States. The New England States, deeply interested in foreign commerce, and the Federalists loudly condemned it. Its opponents, spelling the name backward, called it the "O grab me" Act, and threats of secession were heard from New England. As a result, Congress fixed March 4, 1809, for the termination of the embargo. The first embargo in our history was laid in 1794 for a period of sixty days, and other minor acts of a similar nature were passed during the War of 1812. The plan of limiting commercial intercourse by embargo, non-importation and non-intercourse acts was called the "restrictive system." (*See Non-importation; Non-intercourse.*)

Embassadors. (*See Foreign Service.*)

Eminent Domain is the supreme right of property possessed by a State over the articles of private ownership. The right of eminent domain is the right to take private property for public uses. In the United States its justification is the common welfare, and the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution provides that just compensation must be made. The right is usually exercised in order to secure land for the construction of railroads, highways and canals.

Endicott, William C., was born at Salem, Massachusetts, November 19, 1826. He was graduated from Harvard and was admitted to the bar. He is of the Democratic party. He was for a short time on the bench of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts. Although several times nominated, he has never held elective office. President Cleveland, in March, 1885, appointed him to his Cabinet as Secretary of War.

Enemies in War, in Peace, Friends.—These words occur in the Declaration of Independence, which was written by Thomas Jefferson: "We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them [the English], as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace, friends."

Entangling Alliances.—Jefferson's inaugural address contained the following sentence: "Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none; the support of the State governments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies; the preservation of the General Government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet-anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad; . . . freedom of religion; freedom of the press; freedom of person under the protection of habeas corpus; and trial by juries impartially selected—these principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation."

Envoy Extraordinary. (*See Foreign Service.*)

Equality of States.—In the House of Representatives the members are apportioned according to the population of the States, those containing most inhabitants thus obtaining preponderance over the others. To prevent the subjugation and oppression of the smaller States by the larger, the device of a Senate containing two members from every State, regardless of size, was resorted to. That the importance of this provision, as

a guarantee of the equality of the States in the Union, was recognized by the framers of the Constitution, is shown by Article 5 of that instrument, which declares "that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate."

Equal Rights Party.—This was the name of the New York faction of the Democratic party that subsequently became known as the Loco-foco party. (*See Loco-foco.*) In the presidential contest of 1884, Mrs. Belva A. Lockwood was the candidate of an Equal Rights party (*which see*) advocating woman suffrage. She had practically no following. Her vote in the United States was less than 2,500 out of a total of over 10,000,000.

Era of Good Feeling.—The period from 1817 to 1823 is so called. The Federal party was all but dead; the administration had done its best to conciliate the minority, and the latter was so well satisfied that the name of Federal-Republican was adopted by many to show their sympathy with the party in power. Monroe was reëlected in 1821 and received all but one of the electoral votes. After the election of John Quincy Adams in 1825, the Democratic-Republican party gradually split into two parts, from which the Democratic and Whig parties sprung.

Essex Junto, The.—In 1781 John Hancock applied this name to a number of public men from Essex County, Massachusetts, and their followers. The commercial classes were naturally those that desired a strong federal government, and these men were the ablest representatives of that class and foremost among the advocates of the adoption of the Constitution. After the adoption they formed a part of the Federal party, and were more particularly adherents of Hamilton. They thus incurred the opposition of John Adams, who attempted to make them appear as a "British faction" hostile to France. It was he, also, that revived the name that had fallen into disuse. Subsequently the name came to stand generally for the Federalist spirit of New England, and the troubles in that section during

the War of 1812, as the Hartford Convention, etc., were attributed to the Essex Junto. Among its members were Pickering and Fisher Ames.

Evarts, William M., was born in Boston, Massachusetts, in February, 1818. He was graduated at Yale and studied law at Cambridge. He was admitted to the bar in New York. He was of the counsel defending President Johnson in his impeachment, and served as Attorney-General in 1868 and 1869. He was one of the lawyers representing the United States before the tribunal for the arbitration of the Alabama Claims (*see Geneva Award*), and represented the Republican interests before the Electoral Commission (*which see*). He was Secretary of State under Hayes. He was elected United States Senator for New York in 1885. He is a Republican.

Everett, Edward, was born at Dorchester, Massachusetts, April 11, 1794, and died January 15, 1865. He was a graduate of Harvard, and subsequently filled a Unitarian pulpit in Boston. He was a Whig, serving in the House of Representatives from 1825 to 1835. He was Governor of Massachusetts, 1835 to 1840; Minister to Great Britain, 1841 to 1845; Secretary of State under Fillmore and United States Senator, 1853 to 1854. He was the candidate for President in 1860 of the Constitutional Union party.

Exchange of Prisoners. (*See Cartel.*)

Executive, The.—The government of the United States is divided into three great departments: the executive, the legislative, and the judicial. The first is charged with the execution of the laws, and its head, the President, is known simply as the executive. The chief executive officers of the States, the Governors, are similarly called the executives of the respective States. The qualifications of the President are given in the Constitution, Article 2, section 1. He must be a natural-born citizen of the United States, or a citizen at the adoption of the Constitution. He must be at least thirty-five years of age and have been fourteen years a resident of the United States. The powers of

the President are defined in Article 2 of the Constitution. The executive is of necessity the only means of communication between our government and foreign powers, and great latitude is allowed to the President on this subject, his action being subject only to the approval of the Senate by a two-thirds vote in case of treaties, and by a majority vote in cases of diplomatic appointments. The President has limited control over Congress, the veto enabling him to throttle legislation to which he is opposed, unless two-thirds of each House concur in passing the measure over his veto. The appointing power of the President is subject to the confirmation of the Senate. The war powers of the President are the powers vested in him by virtue of his position as commander-in-chief of the army and navy. These are never exercised except in the case of actual war, and are even then subject to the control of Congress, in which resides the power of granting or withholding supplies. During the administrations of Washington and Adams, the annual message of the President to Congress was read by him to the Houses, and personal interviews between the President and the Senate took place on several occasions. With Jefferson these practices came to an end, and a subsequent attempt to revive the latter failed. All communications between the President and Congress now take the form of resolutions on the part of Congress, and of a message to either or both of the Houses on the part of the President. Resolutions of inquiry directed to the head of any department are answered by letters addressed to the presiding officer of the House desiring the information. The judiciary and the executive bear no official relations to each other after the initial appointment of the former by the latter. The Supreme Court has time and again refused in any way to interfere with the political acts of the executive. The President's term is four years. He is chosen by electors selected as the Legislatures of the States direct, which is now by a popular vote. (*See Electoral System.*) In 1789 the President's salary was fixed at $25,000 per annum. The Act of March 3,

1872, increased this amount to $50,000. At the following session an attempt was made to repeal this increase. It passed Congress, was vetoed by Grant, and failed to pass over the veto. In case of inability on the part of the President to perform the duties of his office, it devolves on the Vice-President. The further regulation of this subject is left to Congress. For the rules established under this power see *President; Presidential Succession.*

Executive Departments. (*See Interior, Department of the; Justice, Department of; Navy, Department of the; Post Office Department; State Department; Treasury Department; War Department.*)

Executive Session is the name applied to sessions of the Senate held for the transaction of executive business; that is, the confirmation of nominations of the President, or the ratification of treaties. These sessions are secret. The clerks that are necessarily present are sworn to secrecy, and violation of the oath may lead to dismissal and punishment for contempt. The punishment of Senators for revealing the proceedings is expulsion. Nevertheless, the proceedings appear in the newspapers with considerable regularity, and to a great extent the rule is a dead letter. The subject of making these sessions open is being agitated at present. Whether any part of the proceedings of either House is to be public or secret is a matter subject to the exclusive control of the House affected. The rules of the House of Representatives provide for secret sessions under certain circumstances.

Exequatur is an official recognition of a consul or commercial agent by the government to which he is sent, authorizing him to perform his duties in that country. It is a Latin word, meaning "let him perform."

Expatriation means the act or state of banishment from one's native country, and it also means the voluntary renunciation of the rights and liabilities of citizenship in one country to become the citizen or subject of another. It is in this latter sense that it is used here.

In the early part of this century, the United States was almost the only nation that claimed for individuals the right of expatriation without the consent of the government of which they were citizens or subjects. The European nations, as a rule, maintained that the permission of the sovereign was necessary; and the enforcement by England of this claim was one of the causes of the War of 1812. Fortunately England did not carry into practice the theoretical extreme of her doctrine, which would have permitted her to hang as traitors all prisoners captured in that war who had once been British subjects. It must be said, however, that notwithstanding the position of the United States in regard to citizens or subjects of foreign powers, the right of voluntary renunciation of allegiance to the United States by one of our citizens was unsettled, so far as legislation was concerned, until the Act of Congress of July 27, 1868, asserted that expatriation "is a natural and inherent right of all people," but the action of the Department of State had previously seemed practically to admit the right. As far as foreign states are concerned, however, the United States has steadily maintained its original position. The first formal recognition of its claims was secured in an expatriation treaty with the North German Confederation, signed February 22, 1868. England first recognized the right of voluntary expatriation by act of parliament in 1870, and immediately concluded an expatriation treaty with the United States. All the leading nations of Europe now recognize the right, including besides those just mentioned, France, Austria, Russia, Italy and Spain. (*See Naturalization.*)

Expenditures and Receipts of the United States.—Besides the annual expenditure of the government as given under the heading *Appropriations*, there are "permanent annual appropriations," which cause expenditure by reason of provisions in existing laws involving outlays which thus need no especial appropriations. These are: 1. Specific, including (*a*) cost of collection of customs revenue, $5,500,000; (*b*)

arming and equiping the militia of the United States, $200,000; (*c*) interest at six per cent. to the Smithsonian Institute on the bequest held by the government for it, $39,000 per annum; and 2. Indefinite, including interest on the public debt, amount required for sinking fund, and numerous similar requirements. The total receipts of the United States from the beginning of the government to the present time, 1892, exclusive of loans, have been $11,862,357,521, while the expenditures for the same period have been $12,562,064,702. From 1866 to 1891, the receipts were sufficiently in excess of the expenditures for the accumulation of a surplus of about $115,000,000. (*See Surplus.*) By the passage of additional pension bills, since the latter date, however, the expenditures of the government are now materially in excess of the revenue.

Explorations and Important Events.—On the 3d of August, 1492, a little before sunrise, Christopher Columbus set sail from the port of Palos, in Spain, under the patronage of Queen Isabella, to discover a western passage to the Indies, and any lands that might intervene on the way. On the 13th of October, the same year, about two hours before midnight, a light was discovered. Morning came, and an island appeared in view. It was named San Salvador. Thus was the New World discovered.

1513.—Florida discovered by Ponce de Leon, and taken possession of for Spain.
1537.—California discovered by Cortez.
1583.—Northeast coast of America taken possession of by the English.
1586.—Tobacco introduced into England by Sir Walter Raleigh.
1614.—"New England" so called for the first time.
1619.—Slavery introduced into Virginia by the Dutch.
1620.—Landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth.
1630.—Settlement of Massachusetts Bay Colony at Boston.
1631.—First Vessel built in New England.
1636.—Providence founded by Roger Williams.
1640.—Use of tobacco prohibited by law in Massachusetts.
1652.—A Mint established in New England; "Pine tree" shillings coined.
1673.—New York taken by the Dutch.
1697.—War between the New England Colonies and the Acadians terminated by the peace of Ryswick.
1699.—Woolen Cloth manufactured in New England.
1708.—Massachusetts first issues paper money.
1752.—Invention of the lightning rod by Dr. Franklin.

1765.—Stamp Act passed by Parliament.
1770.—Destruction of tea in Boston Harbor.
1774.—First Continental Congress assembles at Philadelphia September 3.
1776.—Declaration of Independence, July 4.
1776.—British evacuate Boston.
1778.—British evacuate Philadelphia.
1781.—Surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown October 19.

1783.—Treaty of peace with England signed at Paris September 3.
1784.—Ratification of treaty by the Continental Congress.
1787.—Constitution framed in Philadelphia.
1789.—Inauguration of Washington as first President of the United States.
1790.—Constitution adopted by all the States.

Exports and Imports.—The following table gives the imports of foreign merchandise into, and exportation of domestic and foreign merchandise from, the United States for the years ending June 30th, from 1865 to 1891:

YEAR.	EXPORTS.	IMPORTS.	EXCESS.
1865	$166,029,303	$238,745,580	$72,716,277 imports.
1866	348,859,522	434,812,066	85,952,544 "
1867	294,506,141	395,761,096	101,254,955 "
1868	281,952,899	357,436,440	75,483,541 "
1869	286,117,697	417,506,379	131,388,682 "
1870	392,771,768	435,958,408	43,186,640 "
1871	442,820,178	520,223,684	77,403,506 "
1872	444,177,586	626,595,077	182,417,491 "
1873	522,479,922	642,136,210	119,656,288 "
1874	586,283,040	567,406,342	18,876,698 exports.
1875	513,442,711	533,005,436	19,562,725 imports.
1876	540,384,671	460,741,190	79,643,481 exports.
1877	602,475,220	451,323,126	151,152,094 "
1878	694,865,766	437,051,532	257,814,234 "
1879	710,439,441	445,777,775	264,661,666 "
1880	835,638,658	667,954,746	167,683,912 "
1881	902,367,346	642,664,628	259,702,718 "
1882	750,542,257	724,639,574	25,902,683 "
1883	823,839,402	723,180,914	100,658,488 "
1884	740,513,609	667,697,693	72,815,916 "
1885	742,189,755	577,527,329	164,662,426 "
1886	679,524,830	635,436,136	44,088,694 "
1887	716,183,211	692,319,768	23,863,443 "
1888	695,954,507	723,957,114	28,002,607 imports.
1889	742,401,375	745,131,652	2,730,277 "
1890	857,828,684	789,310,409	68,518,275 exports.
1891	884,480,810	844,916,196	39,564,614 "

The following table shows the exports and imports of specie for the same period : (*See Balance of Trade.*)

YEAR.	EXPORTS.	IMPORTS.	EXCESS.
1865	$67,643,226	$9,810,072	$57,833,154 exports.
1866	86,044,071	10,700,092	75,343,979 "
1867	60,868,372	22,070,475	38,797,897 "
1868	93,784,102	14,188,368	79,595,734 "
1869	57,138,380	19,807,876	37,330,504 "
1870	58,155,666	26,419,179	31,736,487 "
1871	98,441,988	21,270,024	77,171,964 "
1872	79,877,534	13,743,689	66,133,845 "
1873	84,608,574	21,480,937	63,127,637 "
1874	66,630,405	28,454,906	38,175,499 "
1875	92,132,142	20,900,717	71,231,425 "
1876	56,506,302	15,936,681	40,569,621 "
1877	56,162,237	40,774,414	15,387,823 "
1878	33,740,125	29,821,314	3,918,811 "
1879	24,997,441	20,296,000	4,701,441 "
1880	17,142,919	93,034,310	75,891,391 imports.
1881	19,406,847	110,575,497	91,168,650 "
1882	49,417,479	42,472,390	6,945,089 exports.
1883	31,820,333	28,489,391	3,330,942 "
1884	67,133,383	37,426,262	29,707,121 "
1885	42,231,525	43,242,323	1,010,798 imports.
1886	72,463,410	38,593,656	33,869,754 exports.
1887	35,997,691	60,170,792	24,173,101 imports.
1888	23,195,504	59,337,986	26,142,482 "
1889	80,214,994	28,962,073	53,252,921 exports.
1890	35,782,189	33,976,326	1,805,863 "
1891	183,912,816	54,491,014	129,421,802 "

Exposition, World's Columbian.—The World's Columbian Exposition was created by an act of Congress approved April 25, 1890, entitled, "An act to provide for celebrating the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus, by holding an international exhibition of arts, industries, manufacturers and the products of the soil, mine and sea, in the city of Chicago, in the state of Illinois. The act provided for the appointment of commissioners, who should organize the Exposition, and when these preliminaries were completed, the President was required to make a public proclamation of the fact and officially invite "all the nations of the earth" to participate in the Exposition. This proclamation was issued December 24, 1890, The ceremonies established by the

act are in two parts: those to be observed this year, 1892, in the dedication of the buildings of the great Exposition, and those next year attendant upon the formal opening of the Exposition to visitors. The dedicatory ceremonies of this year are as follows: October 12, 1892, the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus, the President of the United States, with the Governors of the various States, and other prominent military and civil dignitaries, will officially participate in imposing ceremonies at Chicago, dedicating the grounds and buildings of the Exposition. The ceremonies are to embrace a four days' celebration. A military encampment will be held during these four days, at which will be present about 10,000 of the National Guard, and such of the regular army as are detailed for the duty.

Wednesday, the 12th, will be ushered in by a salute of forty-eight battery volleys. At ten o'clock the troops will receive the President at the main building of the Exposition, which he will enter, attended by such officials of the Government and members of the diplomatic corps as may be present. The representatives of the thirteen original States will be received with appropriate ceremonies, and of the remaining States in the order of their admission.

On Thursday, October 13, there will be a grand civic and industrial display, moving through the principal streets of Chicago to Jackson Park. In this display, illustrations of the leading events in the life of Columbus and in the history of our country since its discovery will be given. A grand dedication ball will be given Thursday night.

Immediately upon the conclusion of these dedication ceremonies the work of installing the exhibits will begin.

Ex Post Facto Laws.—Strictly speaking, an *ex post facto* law is one that takes effect retroactively; that is, on transactions which took place before its passage. The provision in the Constitution of the United States (Article 1, section 9, clause 3), that "no . . .

ex post facto law shall be passed," has been interpreted to refer only to crimes, and in that sense the words are commonly used. The following have been decided to come within the scope of the phrase: Every law that makes an action done before its passage, and innocent when done, criminal, and punishes such action; every law that aggravates a crime, or makes it greater than when committed; every law that changes the nature of the punishment, or makes it greater than at the time the act was committed; every law that alters the rules of evidence so as to make it easier to convict the offender; every law that, while not avowedly relating to crimes, in effect imposes a penalty or the deprivation of a right; every law that deprives persons accused of crime of some lawful protection to which they have become entitled, as a former acquittal. Such laws are therefore unconstitutional so far as they apply to acts committed before their passage.

Expounder of the Constitution.—Daniel Webster was so called from his exhaustive discussions of the Constitution.

Ex-Presidents.—(*See Presidents.*)

Expunging Resolution, Benton's.—The high-handed manner in which President Jackson disposed of the United States bank—for a full account of which see elsewhere in this volume—gave great offense to Congress. As the President's friends in that body were too numerous, however, to make it at all possible to procure a vote for impeachment, the Senate determined to inflict an extra-judicial condemnation on the action of the Executive. Therefore, after an excited debate of three months, it resolved, March 28, 1834, by a vote of 26 to 20, "That the President, in the late executive proceedings in relation to the public revenue, has assumed upon himself authority and power not conferred by the Constitution and laws, but in derogation of both." This resolution made the President quite indignant, and in a special message April 15, he protested against it on the ground that it accused him of perjury in his violating his oath of office, and was thus an indirect and illegal

method of impeachment, a condemnation against which he had no opportunity to defend himself. The Senate refused to receive the protest or place it on record on the journal. Senator Benton, of Missouri, at once gave notice that he would bring forward, every year, a resolution to expunge the vote of censure. After a struggle of three years, the friends of the President carried the expunging resolution, and the resolution of censure was marked around on the journal with broad black lines, and the memorandum "Expunged by order of the Senate, this 16th day of January, 1837."

Exterritoriality.—By a fiction of international law a sovereign, though temporarily in a foreign country, is considered as being on his own territory. By an extension of this principle diplomatic agents that represent the sovereign, and also those that represent the State (as embassadors of republics), are said to enjoy the privilege of exterritoriality, the privilege of living under their own laws while accredited to a foreign nation. They preserve their domiciles as if at home. Their persons, families, attendants and property are inviolable except in extreme cases. In case of a crime committed by a diplomatic representative, unless imperative necessity demands his seizure, the government to which he is accredited merely asks his recall.

Extradition is the delivering up to justice of fugitive criminals by one country or State to another. Extradition "for treason, felony or other crime," between one State of the Union and another is provided for by the Constitution of the United States, Article 4, section 2. An act of Congress passed in 1793 prescribed the form of the demand for the fugitive criminal. The usual course is as follows: He is indicted or a warrant issued for his arrest; a copy of the indictment or warrant is submitted to the executive of the State who then makes a requisition for the criminal on the executive of the State in which he has taken refuge; the latter executive, if satisfied that the papers are regular and sufficient, issues a warrant for the arrest and delivery of the fugitive to the agent of the State

demanding him. The accused may have these proceedings reviewed by the courts under a writ of *habeas corpus*. If the governor on whom the requisition is made for any reason refuses to surrender the criminal there is no power that can compel him to do so. The words "or other crime" in the section of the Constitution referred to, have been interpreted differently, but the weight of opinion (though this has not always controlled) is that they mean any offense against the laws of the State making the demand. In June, 1887, Governor Hill, of New York, suggested a conference of governors to secure uniform action in inter-state extradition cases. Several States joined with New York in a call for such a conference, and as a consequence delegates representing the governors of nineteen States met at Albany in August, 1887. A committee was appointed by them to submit a bill to Congress for the purpose of making uniform in some respects the practice in these cases.—Extradition between foreign nations is sometimes provided for by the internal laws of a state, and sometimes is a matter of comity, but usually it is provided for by treaty. The latter is the case as between the United States and foreign nations, only one case in our history having occurred (the surrender of Arguelles to Spain in 1864 by Secretary of State Seward) that was done as a matter of comity. Treaties sometimes (those of the United States usually) provide that extradition shall not be granted for acts previously committed nor for political offenses. It is the general practice that a request for extradition shall not be granted before the courts of the country in which the criminal has taken refuge have determined that the evidence would warrant his arrest and commitment for trial where he is found if the offense had been committed there; without this judicial determination the President of the United States cannot surrender a fugitive, but even when rendered he is not thereby forced to do so. The weight of opinion (though the question is not entirely settled) favors the view that a person extradited for one offense cannot be tried for another until he has had an opportunity of

leaving the country or another request for his extradition on the new ground has been granted. The United States has extradition treaties or stipulations with Great Britain, France, Switzerland, Germany, Austria, Sweden, Norway, Mexico, Italy, Spain and other states. The chief extraditable crimes under these treaties are murder, burglary, robbery, arson, forgery, piracy, counterfeiting and embezzlement; but many other crimes are mentioned in one or another.

Extra Sessions.—Article 2, section 3, of the Constitution of the United States, gives the President power on "extraordinary occasions" to convene either or both houses of Congress. A meeting in consequence of such a call is termed an extra session. Since the formation of our government but ten extra sessions have been held.

Fabian Policy. (*See American Fabius.*)

Fairchild, Charles S., was born at Cazenovia, Madison County, New York, April 30, 1842. He is a lawyer by profession and a graduate of Harvard. He was in 1874 appointed Deputy Attorney-General of the State of New York, and subsequently elected Attorney-General. It was during his incumbency that the Canal Ring suits were finally disposed of. In 1885 he was appointed Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, and on the resignation of Secretary Manning he was appointed to his place.

Fait Accompli is a French phrase meaning literally an accomplished fact. In political and diplomatic language it means an event, which, having taken place, is to be accepted and acquiesced in as a fact, and the effects of which are to be left undisturbed. The phrase is not often used in this country, but is of continual recurrence in European politics.

Farewell Addresses.—George Washington, under date of September 17, 1796, issued a farewell address to the people of the United States in anticipation of his retirement from public life in March of the next year. The document is chiefly the work of Washington and Hamilton, though portions of it were taken from a draft prepared by Madison at Washington's request when the latter had expected to retire to private life after his first

term. A farewell address was also issued by Andrew Jackson March 3, 1837, the last day of his official life, rehearsing the principles on which he had acted. The following is Washington's address:

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS:

The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprize you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you at the same time to do me the justice to be assured that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove of my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say, that I have with good intentions contributed toward the organization and administration of the government the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious, in the outset, of the inferiority of any qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade

of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe, that while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead, amidst appearances sometimes dubious—vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging—in situations in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism—the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guaranty of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing wishes that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence—that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual—that the free constitution which is the work of your hands may be sacredly maintained—that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue—that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these States, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation, and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments, which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all-important to the permancy of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquility at home, your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly

prize. But as it is easy to foresee that from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national Union, to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual and immovable attachment to it, accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever might suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of AMERICAN, which belongs to you, in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits and political principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together; the Independence and Liberty you possess are the work of joint councils and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The *North*, in an unrestrained intercourse with the *South*, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The *South*, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the agency of the *North*, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the *North*, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The *East*, in a like intercourse with the *West*, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications, by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad or manufactures at home. The *West* derives from the *East* supplies requisite to its growth and comfort—and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the *secure* enjoyment of indispensable *outlets* for its own productions to the weight, influence and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of inter-

est as one nation. Any other tenure by which the *West* can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While then every part of our country thus feels the immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries, not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalship alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments and intrigues would stimulate and embitter. Hence likewise they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which under any form of government are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to Republican Liberty. In this sense it is, that your Union ought to be considered as the main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the Union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who in any quarter may endeavor to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our union, it occurs as matter of serious concern that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by *geographical* discriminations—*Northern* and *Southern*—*Atlantic* and *Western;* whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence, within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head; they have seen, in the negotiation by the Executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the treaty with Spain, and the universal satisfaction at the event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the general government, and in the Atlantic States,

unfriendly to their interests in regard to the MISSISSIPPI: they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain and that with Spain, which secure to them everything they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, toward confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the UNION by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such they are, who would sever them from their brethren, and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a Government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a Constitution of Government better calculated than your former for an intimate Union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This Government, the offspring of your own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make, and to alter their Constitutions of Government. But the Constitution which at any time exists, until changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish Government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established Government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force—to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common councils and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying afterward the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Toward the preservation of your government, and the per-

manency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect in the form of the Constitution alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments, as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country—that facility in changes upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty, is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party, generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in greatest rankness, and it is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual, and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight), the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils, and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another, foments occasionally riot and

insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another. There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This within certain limits is probably true; and in governments of a monarchial cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking, in a free country, should inspire caution in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern; some of them in our country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly over-balance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, RELIGION and MORALITY are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tributes of PATRIOTISM, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever

may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

It is substantially true that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it, can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it, is to use it as sparingly as possible—avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace; but remember also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your Representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should cooperate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that toward the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice toward all nations, cultivate peace and harmony with all: religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt but in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantage which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothin is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that in place of them just and amicable feelings toward all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges toward another an habitual hatred or an habitual fondness, is

in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility instigated by pride, ambition and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations has been the victim.

So, likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favorite nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions, by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained; and by exciting jealousy, ill-will and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld. And it gives to ambitious, corrupted or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favorite nation) facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearance of a virtuous sense of obligation a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions; to practice the arts of sedition, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak, toward a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter. Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of Republican Government. But that jealousy to be useful must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defense against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the

applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interest.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world: so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But, in my opinion, it is unnecessary, and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, and a liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity and interest.

But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing, with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay with a portion of its in-

dependence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon, real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting expression I could wish—that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations. But if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; but they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare by which they have been dictated.

How far in the discharge of my official duties I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at last believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your Representatives in both Houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take, a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe, that according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the Belligerent Powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity toward other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress, without interruption, to that degree of strength and consistency which is necessary to give it, humanely speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though, in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too

sensible of my own defects, not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love toward it, which is so natural to a man who views it in the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations; I anticipate with pleasing expectation, that retreat in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government—the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors and dangers.

G. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES,
17th September, 1796.

Father Abraham.—An affectionate nickname applied to Lincoln.

Father of His Country.—A popular title given to Washington in recognition of his services in establishing this government.

Father of the Constitution.—This name is applied to James Madison because he was the author of the resolution that led to the invitation for the Convention of 1787, issued by the Virginia Legislature.

Federalist.—The name of eighty-five essays on the Constitution that appeared in the *Independent Gazetteer* of New York, for the purpose of influencing public opinion in its favor while it was before the people for ratification. They were written by Hamilton, Madison, Jay and William Duer. The latter wrote but three numbers. The brunt of the task fell on Hamilton, and his name is most strongly associated with them. The first papers were signed *A Citizen of New York,* and the later *Publius.* The *Federalist* is an authority on the interpretation of the Constitution. The period of their publication extends from October, 1787, to March, 1788.

Federal Party.—This name was given to those that

were in favor of the adoption of the United States Constitution. The looseness of the Union under the Articles of Confederation had unsettled business, and all citizens that were injured by this state of affairs were in favor of a stronger government. Moreover, the feeling that thus only could we become a nation among nations had much weight in inclining the more thoughtful to favor the Constitution. Washington, Jefferson, Madison and Randolph were all Federalists in the earlier and wider meaning of the term. The adoption of the Constitution left the anti-Federalists without a cause, and the Federal party went into power with Washington at its head practically unopposed. During the first session of Congress the departments of the government were organized. At the second session Alexander Hamilton introduced his financial measures. The foreign debt was to be paid in full, the continental debt was to be paid at par, and the debts of the several States were to be assumed. To the second of these propositions Madison dissented, but it was nevertheless carried. The third aroused enormous opposition, and it was hotly debated both in and out of Congress. After one defeat it was reintroduced and carried by means of a bargain. At the third session a bill taxing distilled spirits was passed and the Bank of the United States was incorporated. These measures Jefferson and Randolph opposed. The party had thus gradually strengthened the broad construction view of the Constitution and had attained real principles and party life. It stood committed to protection of manufactures by import duties, to building up a navy and an army, and to strengthening the federal government. The opposition raised by these centralizing tendencies gradually took form, and headed by Jefferson, Madison and Randolph, formed the Republican party, from which sprang the Democratic-Republican party. The work of the Federalists was carried on in the Second Congress. In the third, the Senate was theirs by but a small majority, while in the House there was a small majority against them. The assumption of the State debts had rendered the prompt establishment

of a navy impossible, and its want now forbade the energetic assertion of our commercial rights. As a consequence, Jay's Treaty was negotiated. In 1798 the party favored war with France, and the popularity of this measure tended to give it temporary prestige, but trouble was brewing. John Adams and his wing of the party was strongly opposed by Hamilton and his followers. The Alien and Sedition Laws had made the administration of the former thoroughly unpopular. Jefferson and Burr had completely organized the opposition, and the election of 1800 bore heavily against the Federalists and elected Jefferson. The Federalists, now in the minority, resorted to obstruction, and offered opposition even to measures that were in line with those previously advocated by themselves. Their opposition to the Louisiana purchase, certainly an instance of broad construction, is a fair example of these tactics. To the opposition of this last measure they were not, however, able to bring their full strength. In 1804 Federalist electors were chosen from but three States. The party opposed the embargo and other restrictive measures, and in this they were joined by Randolph. Attempts to secure a navy, and opposition to the War of 1812 and to the policy of protection of home manufactures, now constituted its programme. It had, in fact, gone so far as to adopt the strict construction theory. In the presidential election of 1812 it showed a decided increase in strength, but this soon fell off again, and although it still had influence in some of the New England States, its national importance was over. Its supporters became National Republicans, and were of the elements that subsequently formed the Whig party. One of the most serious defects of the party was that it never made any attempt to gain the confidence of the people—its leaders stood aloof. Among the prominent members of the party, besides those mentioned, were John Jay, Fisher Ames, John Marshall, Roger Sherman, Rufus King and James A. Bayard.

Federal-Republican.—In 1820 James Monroe was elected President, receiving all but one of the electoral

votes. It was an "era of good feeling," and most of the Federalists now called themselves Federal-Republicans, as indicating their satisfaction with the party in power.

Female Suffrage. (*See Woman Suffrage.*)

Fenians, or Fenian Brotherhood.—A political association which has aimed at the forcible separation of Ireland from English rule. The name comes from the ancient Irish warriors, the Finna, Fianna or Fionna. The brotherhood was founded in New York in 1857. John O'Mahoney, William R. Roberts, James Stephens and O'Donovan Rossa were prominent leaders, the first two especially so in this country. Their importance in our history arises from their attempts to make the United States a base for their operations in Ireland and Canada against the English. Large sums of money were collected here from time to time to carry on their work. Their first congress was held at Chicago in November, 1863. They seized on the differences which existed between the United States and Great Britain during the Civil War and afterward, and tried to widen the breach, hoping to precipitate these nations into war and thus increase their chances for freeing Ireland. Their schemes in this direction, however, were not successful. In 1866 they attempted to invade Canada from the United States. In the spring of that year 500 men gathered at Eastport, Maine, but disbanded when the United States authorities captured 750 stand of arms that were intended for them. In May, government officials seized 1,200 stand of arms at Rouse's Point, New York, and about 1,000 stand at St. Albans, Vermont. On the first of June, 1,500 Fenians, commanded by Colonel O'Neill, crossed the Niagara River at Buffalo. After a slight success they were routed, and about 700 were captured on their return by the United States forces. A similar event took place on the Vermont line. Two of the prisoners who had been captured by the Canadian forces were sentenced to death, but were respited largely through the intercession of Secretary of State Seward and other Americans. Those who had

been captured by the United States authorities were released on parole or after a short imprisonment. In the spring of 1867 a brig, Erin's Hope, sailed from New York for Ireland with arms and ammunition, but was unable to land them, and, after losing by capture some of her force, returned to New York. In the spring of 1870 another invasion of Canada was attempted, but General Meade was sent to the scene of operations and seized the men and arms. Meanwhile, Fenian efforts in England and Ireland had not relaxed. The account of them is stirring but does not belong to our history. The brotherhood did not succeed in liberating Ireland, though it was perhaps due in some measure to their agitation that reforms were soon adopted in its government by England. Many of the leaders were imprisoned and some sentenced to penal servitude for life.

Few Die and None Resign. (*See Civil Service Reform.*)

Fiat Money.—The word *fiat* means decree. Money that is constituted money by a mere decree, and that has nothing of value on which to rest as a basis, is called fiat money. It is also called credit money. The only fiat money in circulation in this country is the legal tender notes.

Fifty-four Forty or Fight.—A cry adopted during the Northwestern Boundary discussion by those who disapproved of yielding our claims to the territory short of fifty-four degrees forty minutes of latitude, between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Ocean.

Fighting Joe.—A name applied to General Joseph Hooker during the Civil War. Hooker was born in 1819 and died in 1879. He was at one time commander of the Army of the Potomac, but soon after his defeat at Chancellorsville he resigned his command. The battle in connection with which he is best known is Lookout Mountain, the Battle Above the Clouds.

Fight it Out on this Line if It Takes all Summer. (*See I Propose to Fight it Out on this Line if It Takes all Summer.*)

Filibusters.—This word comes from the Spanish

filibusteros, who were West Indian pirates. Their name was derived from a small fast-sailing vessel which they employed, called a filibote (originally fly-boat), and said to have been so styled from the river Vly in Holland. The term filibusters came to be applied to all military adventurers. In the United States it has two meanings. First, it is given to the members of the minority of a legislative body who seek to delay or defeat the adoption of measures obnoxious to them by obstruction and dilatory tactics, such as constant motions to adjourn, or calls for yeas and nays. Secondly, the name filibusters is applied to the adventurers who organized expeditions in the United States to gain control of West Indian and Central American regions with the hope of having them annexed to the United States, and thus extending the slave territory of the nation. The first of these expeditions was organized by a Cuban, Narcisco Lopez. After making two attempts in 1849 and 1850 which proved failures, he sailed from New Orleans with about 500 men and landed in Cuba in August, 1851. His force was overpowered by the authorities, and he and several other leaders were executed. The next filibustering expeditions were undertaken by General William Walker. In 1853 and 1854 he attempted to conquer Lower California and the State of Sonora, Mexico, but failed. In 1855 he went to Nicarauga with a few followers. Profiting by internal dissensions in that country, he gained several victories and had himself elected President. He reëstablished slavery and seized the property of the Vanderbilt Steamship Company. But his arbitrary acts created a revolution, and early in 1857 he surrendered himself to Commander Davis, of the United States Navy, who took him to New Orleans. He was released under bonds to keep the peace, but in November he was found once more in Nicarauga. In December, however, he surrendered again, this time to Commodore Paulding of our navy, who carried him to New York. Finding himself again at liberty, he attempted to start with a new expedition from New Orleans, but was prevented by the national authorities. His last expedition was

directed against Honduras in 1860. In June of that year he landed with a small force at Trujillo, but was captured, court-martialed and, on September 12th, shot. Since then no filibustering expeditions from this country have been known. (*See Ostend Manifesto; Tripartite Treaty.*)

Fillmore, Millard, was born in Cayuga County, New York, January 7, 1800. He died at Buffalo, March 8, 1874. His early education was obtained entirely by his own efforts. He served in Congress from 1833 to 1835, and from 1837 to 1843, as a Whig. He was of the Silver-Gray faction of the Whigs. In 1848 he was elected Vice-President, and on President Taylor's death he succeeded to the presidency. The principal measure passed during his administration was the Omnibus Bill.

Fire Eater is a term used to denote a person of extreme and violent Southern views.

First in War, First in Peace, and First in the Hearts of his Countrymen.—These words are contained in the resolutions prepared by Henry Lee, of Virginia, that were passed by the House of Representatives on the death of Washington.

First President of the Southern Confederacy. (*See Calhoun, John C.*)

Fiscal Tariff. (*See Tariffs of the United States.*)

Fishery Treaties.—The right of citizens of the United States to fish in the open sea has never been denied, but their privileges of fishing in British waters or landing on British territory (Canada and Newfoundland) to dry or cure their catch have been limited by treaty at various times. The Treaty of Paris of 1783 excluded our fishermen only from drying fish on the coasts of Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island and Cape Breton. Our rights were of course suspended during the War of 1812, and the Treaty of Ghent (1814) failed to settle the question anew. Our fishing vessels were excluded from British harbors and coasts, and several were seized. On October 20, 1818, commissioners from both countries signed a convention in

London, giving our fishermen the right to catch fish within extensive prescribed limits, and to land on the British coasts to dry or cure their catches, denying their right to fish within three marine miles of other British territory, and giving them admission to all British harbors for wood, water, shelter or the repair of damages. On June 5, 1854, a reciprocity treaty was signed (confirmed by the Senate, August 3d) which, besides providing for free trade in certain articles between Canada and the United States, gave our fishermen full rights on the Canadian coasts and British fishermen similar rights on our coasts north of Cape May, in latitude thirty-six degrees north, each nation, however, reserving its shad and salmon fisheries and certain rivers and mouths of rivers. This treaty terminated on March 17, 1867, in accordance with its provisions and the designated notice given by the United States. The Convention of London (1818) now came into operation once more, though for four years our fishermen could still follow their business in Canadian waters on the payment of a formal license fee. In 1870 several of our vessels were seized and forfeited for not paying this license fee. The Treaty of Washington (1871) touched, among other subjects, on the fisheries, giving full rights to us on the Canadian coasts and to British fishermen on our coasts north of latitude thirty-nine degrees north, except that to each nation were reserved its shell, shad, salmon and river fisheries. Free trade was established in most fishery products, and a commission was appointed to decide on the compensation which the United States should pay for these privileges. (*See Halifax Fishery Commission.*) In 1878 a difficulty occurred under the treaty, for which see *Fortune Bay Outrages.* On June 30, 1885, the Treaty of Washington, so far as it concerned the fisheries, ceased to be operative, owing to notice given by the United States in accordance with the treaty. The Canadian authorities permitted our vessels to finish out the season. In May, 1886, one of our fishing schooners, the David J. Adams, was seized on the charge of having

purchased bait within forbidden limits. Several other seizures were made, and much excitement was caused in the United States and Canada. The abrogation of the Treaty of Washington revived the provisions of the Convention of London, which is not satisfactory to either party. One point of dispute is whether the three-mile limit runs from headland to headland, or follows the indentations of the coast. The difficulties with Canada led Congress to pass what is known as the Retaliation Act, approved March 3, 1887. This act provides that whenever the President shall be satisfied that our fishing vessels are illegally, unjustly or vexatiously restricted or harassed in the exercise of their business, or denied the privileges accorded to vessels of the most favored nations in respect to touching or trading, purchasing supplies and the like, by the authorities of the British North American dominions, he shall have the discretionary power to close our ports and waters against vessels of the British dominions of North America with such exceptions as to vessels in distress, etc., as he may deem proper, and to prohibit the importation of fish or other products of said dominions. The President is to exercise this power by proclamation; he may make it applicable to a part only of Canada, and he may revoke, qualify, limit or renew it as he sees fit. President Cleveland, however, considered it the part of wisdom not to employ this weapon against Canada, preferring to reach an amicable settlement if possible. With this object in view, plenipotentiaries of each nation met in Washington in November, 1887. On the part of the United States the commissioners were Thomas F. Bayard, of Delaware, Secretary of State, William L. Putnam, of Maine, and James B. Angell, of Michigan. On the part of Great Britain the commissioners were Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, Member of Parliament, Sir Lionel Sackville West, Minister to the United States, and Sir Charles Tupper, Minister of Finance of the Dominion of Canada. On February 15, 1888, a treaty was signed and immediately laid before the governments concerned for their ratification. It provides

for a joint commission, two members to be named by Great Britain and two by the United States, to mark out on charts the waters within which the United States by the Convention of London renounced the right to take, dry or cure fish. Great Britain abandons the extreme of her theory that the three-mile limit runs from headland to headland, and, except as specially mentioned, in case of bays more than ten miles wide the marine league is to be measured outward from a line drawn across them. The United States renounces the right to fish in certain specified bays, etc. United States fishing vessels are to have the same rights in Canadian ports as Canadian fishers and ordinary vessels, except that the purchase of bait is forbidden. They must procure licenses, which will be furnished without cost. The treaty, however, provides that whenever the United States shall remove its import duties on the products of Canadian fisheries and their coverings and packages, the free right shall be accorded our fishermen of purchasing bait, ice, seines, etc., of transshipping their catch and of shipping crews. A protocol signed on the same day as the treaty provides that pending the ratification of the latter, for a period not exceeding two years, these last privileges shall be accorded to our fishermen on the purchase of an annual license of $1.50 per ton of their vessels, and that these privileges shall be free if our duties on the products of Canadian fisheries and their coverings and packages shall be removed. This treaty seems to settle long disputed questions in a way satisfactory and just to both parties, by mutual concessions.

Flag of the United States.—During the early days of the Revolution flags of various designs, depending on the taste of different commanders, were in use. In December, 1775, on the recommendation of a committee of Congress, what was known as the "grand Union" flag came into use. It consisted of a field of thirteen red and white stripes like the present national flag, but its union, or corner, was the same as that of the British flag, allegiance to Great Britain not having as yet been renounced by the signing of the Declaration

of Independence. In June, 1776, when the issue of some such declaration appeared almost inevitable, Washington and a committee of Congress informally substituted for the British union a union consisting of a five-pointed star. On June 14, 1777, Congress formally established a field of thirteen stripes and a union of thirteen white stars on blue ground, and this new flag was probably first used at the battle of Brandywine, September 11, 1777. On January 13, 1794, Congress ordered two more stripes and two more stars to be added to the flag, to typify the States of Vermont and Kentucky, admitted in the meanwhile. Notwithstanding the admission of several more States, the flag was then left unchanged until the Act of April 4, 1818, changed the number of stripes to thirteen, which number was to remain fixed. The number of stars was thereafter to be equal to the number of States. The arrangement of the stars in the union was not provided for. Thus the stripes typify the original States, the stars the present States.

Flag, Presidential.—It is usual in other countries to have a special ensign to designate the presence on a vessel of the ruler of the nation. It was not until lately that the United States had such a flag. President Arthur suggested it in the early part of 1882, and, as his Cabinet concurred in his suggestion, decided on the design of a blue ground with the arms of the United States in the center. The Navy Department ordered that this flag should be displayed at the mainmast of any vessel that bore the President. Arthur first used it in 1883.

Floaters.—Under the Ohio Constitution of 1851, a district or county having a fraction of population over and above the number of inhabitants necessary to the Senators or Representatives apportioned to it, is treated as follows: If by multiplying the surplus inhabitants by five the result is equal to or exceeds the number of inhabitants required for one member, the county receives a member for the fifth of the five terms of two years into which the period between reapportionments is

divided. If equal to the number necessary to more than one member, then for the fifth and fourth terms, or for as many as required. These members are called floaters.

Florida was acquired by purchase from Spain in 1821. (*See Annexations II.*) East and West Florida were joined in the territory of Florida in 1822, and the State was admitted to the Union on March 3, 1845. An ordinance of secession was passed by a State convention on January 10, 1861, and the State was readmitted to the Union by Act of June 25, 1868. The capital is Tallahassee. The population in 1880 was 269,493, and in the last census (1890) 391,422. Florida is entitled to two members of the House of Representatives and four electoral votes. It is claimed by the Republicans to be at least a doubtful State in national politics, but in 1880 and 1884 it gave majorities for the Democratic candidates. In 1876 the Electoral Commission (*which see*) decided that the Republican electors had been chosen. The name of this State was orginally applied to the whole neighboring region in 1512 by Ponce de Leon, who discovered it on Easter Sunday (in Spanish *Pasqua Florida*, or the Feast of Flowers). It is sometimes popularly known as the Peninsula State. (*See Governors; Legislatures.*)

Foot's Resolution.—A resolution introduced in the Senate in December, 1829, by S. A. Foot, of Connecticut, designed to limit the sale of Western lands. Its importance lies in the fact of its having been seized on by the Southern members as the text for an attack on the North and the "centralization" theory. The debate is famous for the speeches of Daniel Webster and Robert Y. Hayne.

Force Bill.—The following acts of Congress are known by this name: A law passed by Congress, taking effect March 2, 1833. Its purpose was to enable the President to enforce the tariff in the face of the efforts of South Carolina to resist the collection of duty. Also, to two laws passed in 1870 and 1871, both aimed at the suppression of interference and intimidation in

Southern elections. These laws gave exclusive jurisdiction on this subject to the United States courts. The second section of the law of 1871, directed at conspiracy against the Civil Rights Act, was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in 1883. The second bill declared conspiracy of this nature, if abetted by the State authorities, to be rebellion, and authorized the employment of the army and navy and the suspension of the *habeas corpus* to aid in repressing it. The operation of the *habeas corpus* section was not to extend beyond the end of the next session of Congress. Efforts for a renewal thereof failed. These latter bills were also known as the Ku-Klux Acts. (*See Ku-Klux Klan.*)

Foreign Service.—The officers of the foreign service of the United States are divided into two branches, diplomatic and consular. The former, called in general diplomatic agents, includes envoys extraordinary, ministers plenipotentiary, ministers resident and secretaries of legation. The first may be appointed for special purposes, but the title is usually added to that of ministers plenipotentiary. These embassadors have the right to negotiate treaties and generally to represent our government in the state to which they are sent. They are sent only to great nations. Ministers resident are accredited to less important nations, but their powers are about the same as those of ministers plenipotentiary. Secretaries of legation are appointed to assist principal embassadors. Consular officers include consuls-general, consuls and commercial agents. Their chief duties and powers are connected with our commercial interests, to protect ships, seamen and other Americans, to send home destitute seamen, and to give certificates for various purposes. They are sent to the principal ports or markets of a country. Some diplomatic powers also attach to their office, and in non-Christian countries they have sometimes the right, by treaty, to act in a judicial capacity between citizens of the United States. A consul-general has jurisdiction over several consuls. Commercial agents are accredited to smaller places. The various diplomatic and consular officers are ap-

pointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. The highest salary is $17,500, paid to ministers to great powers, as England, and from this figure the salaries run down to a very small amount. Officers of the foreign service are under the control and direction of the State Department.

Foreign Valuations.—At the present time the dutiable value of imports on which ad valorem rates of duty are levied is the market value at the time of exportation in the principal markets of the country whence the merchandise is exported. This is called a foreign valuation, and has been usually adopted by the tariff laws of this country. The most notable exception was Clay's Compromise Bill of 1833, which adopted the plan of home valuations.

Fortune Bay Outrages.—In January, 1878, the rights of our fishermen under the Treaty of Washington (1871) were infringed by the inhabitants of Fortune Bay, Newfoundland, who attacked several Gloucester vessels that were taking in cargoes of frozen herring, cut their nets and drove away the crews. A claim was made that local laws had been violated, but the British government took a correct view of the matter by deciding that these could not stand in conflict with the treaty. The claims of the injured fishermen amounted to $105,305: Great Britain paid £15,000 (nearly $73,000) to be divided among them as compensation for the damages inflicted.

Forty-niners.—A term applied to those persons that rushed to California during the gold fever of 1849, just after the discovery of gold in that region.

Franklin, or Frankland, State of.—This name was adopted in 1784 by a convention of the settlers of the western lands belonging to North Carolina. The tract was admitted as the State of Tennessee in 1796. (*See Tennessee.*)

Fraud of '76.—The election of Hayes as President is thus called by the more violent Democrats. (*See Disputed Presidential and Vice-Presidential Elections*; *Electoral Commission.*

Free Coinage. (*See Coinage; Bi-metallism.*

Free Democracy, or Free Democratic party, is a name by which the Free Soil party was sometimes known. (*See that title.*)

Freedmen's Bureau.—The number of slaves freed by the end of 1864 is estimated at 3,000,000. Of this number at least one-third was not only destitute, but absolutely helpless. Attempts to make them self-supporting by employing them on abandoned plantations had failed through the mismanagement of the government's agents, and they were now overrunning and encumbering the army. They were therefore gathered into camps, where they were easier to manage and could be forced to do at least some work. In 1864 the management of these refugees was transferred to the Treasury Department. In March, 1865, after repeated failures, a Freedmen's Bureau Bill was passed. To this bureau, under the control of the War Department, was given the control of "refugees, freedmen and abandoned lands." It had power to assign not more than forty acres of abandoned or confiscated land to each refugee, for three years, and generally to regulate and supervise the refugees and their concerns. This law created the bureau for a term of one year. In 1866 a bill was passed by Congress continuing the bureau indefinitely and much enlarging its powers. It also gave the President military jurisdiction of attempts to abridge the civil rights of the freedmen. It was vetoed, and so failed to pass. In July a new bill, differing from the February act only in that it extended the bureau for but two years, was passed, and being vetoed was repassed over the veto. In June, 1868, it was further extended for one year. The chief commissioner was General O. O. Howard. A law passed in August, 1868, made him irremovable, and provided for the cessation of all but the educational functions of the bureau's work on January 1, 1869. These latter did not cease until July 1, 1870.

Free Rum.—Prohibitionists are fond of using the phrase "free rum" to indicate the ease with which

liquor can be procured under a license system in distinction from the difficulty of obtaining it under prohibitory laws.

Free Soil Democracy.—A name by which the Free Soil party was sometimes known. (*See Free Soil Party.*)

Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Men and Fremont.—A campaign cry of the supporters of Fremont for President in 1856.

Free Soil Party.—The Southern leaders of the Democratic party had determined to prevent the nomination of Martin Van Buren for the presidency in the convention of 1844. This was accomplished by declaring the vote of two-thirds of the convention necessary to nominate. This rule once adopted, Van Buren's defeat followed naturally. These tactics caused a split in the Democratic ranks, especially in Van Buren's State, New York. Van Buren's faction was there known as the "Barn-burners," the other as the "Hunkers." In 1848 both factions sent delegations to the national convention, which determined to give one-half of the State vote to each. Both sections withdrew dissatisfied. Van Buren's faction, joining with the remnants of the Liberty party, formed the Free Soil party, by which Van Buren and Charles Francis Adams were nominated. Their platform was a strong and frank protest against the extension of slavery, and contained such ringing phrases as "a free soil to a free people," and "Congress has no more power to make a slave than to make a king." Van Buren and Adams received no electoral votes, but their popular vote was 291,342, against 1,219,962 for Cass and 1,360,752 for Taylor. In 1852 the party nominated John P. Hale, of New York, and again received no electoral votes. During its existence it always had from fifteen to twenty representatives in Congress, among them Charles Sumner, Salmon P. Chase and David Wilmot. It opposed the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, and was finally swallowed up in the Republican party.

Free Soil to a Free People.—This sentence was

contained in the declaration of principles of the Free Soil Party.

Free Trade is the doctrine of political economy maintained by those who hold that trade should be unrestricted by governmental regulations or interference. The term is generally used with reference to governmental exactions on importations. Theoretically, free traders hold that our commerce with other nations should be as unrestricted as commerce between the various States of the Union, but practically they admit that duties on imports are a convenient way of raising a revenue; so that, as the term is generally used in this country, a free trader is one who believes in so regulating the tariff as to raise the necessary revenue with the least restrictions on foreign commerce, and with absolutely no attempt to protect home industries. He believes strictly in a tariff for revenue only, or a fiscal tariff, as it is sometimes called. A brief outline of some of the most important propositions on which the free trade argument rests may be given as follows: every man has a natural right to buy in the cheapest market and to sell in the dearest; all attempts to check this right on the part of the government result sooner or later in an artificial commercial condition and consequent financial disaster; labor, production, manufacture and commerce, being governed by natural laws, will regulate themselves best if not interfered with; a nation should devote itself to industries which are natural to it; to attempt to force others to growth is an artificial stimulus and a waste of energy; if other nations can produce articles cheaper than we can, it is an unnecessary national extravagance to waste, in making them at home, strength that could more profitably be devoted to other pursuits; protection benefits only a minority of the nation at the expense of the large majority; the advantages which have resulted from free trade between the several States of the Union prove that similar advantages would follow from free trade with foreign nations. In answer to some of the arguments of the protectionists, free traders say that it

is ridiculous and untrue to insist that protective duties compel foreigners to pay part of our taxes; that diversified industries are proven by history not to be necessary for a nation, since with wealth all things can be purchased in these days, and the nation will gain wealth more rapidly if it devotes itself to natural pursuits and avoids wasting its energy in unnatural ones; that high wages in the United States are due to our natural advantages, not to protection; that, in any case, with free trade the workman's necessaries would cost much less and his wages would go as far as before; that it is unjust to tax the whole country to pay large profits on invested capital which could be equally well employed in other channels. A large majority of the Democratic party are free traders in the sense in which the term is used here—of favoring a tariff for revenue only; but a minority, powerful in influence if not in numbers, is protectionist. (*See Protection.*)

Free Trade and Sailors' Rights.—A cry used before and during the War of 1812 by those that resented British interference with our commerce and the right England maintained of searching American vessels for seamen whom she claimed to be British subjects, and impressing them into her service. (*See Embargo Act; War of* 1812.)

Fremont, John Charles, was born at Savannah, Georgia, January 21, 1813. He graduated at Charleston College, and entered the army as second lieutenant. He rendered distinguished service in the Mexican War, and his explorations of the Rocky Mountains gained the title of Pathfinder for him. From 1851 to 1853 he was United States Senator from California. He was a Free Soiler. In 1856 he was the Republican candidate for President. In 1864 the "radical men" of the Republicans nominated him, but he declined in favor of Lincoln.

French Spoliation Claims.—During the Revolutionary War France and the United States made common cause as the result of the treaty of 1778, by which, among other things, each government agreed to permit

the other to carry on trade with an enemy, and even to carry the enemy's goods, provided these were not contraband. After our treaty of peace in 1783 with Great Britain, France found herself once more engaged in war with that nation. France maintained that by the treaty of 1778 we were bound to assist her but as our government did not admit this and maintained a neutral position, France seized many cargoes of American vessels trading with England. The United States overlooked these acts for the time being, but in 1797 and in 1799 the claims of those who had lost property by these "French spoliations" were presented to France by our commissioners. France, however, would not recognize these unless the United States should admit the compensation which France claimed it owed to her for breaking the treaty of 1778. As the French position could not be changed by argument, our representatives finally agreed to allow one claim to offset the other, being desirous of effecting an agreement on other matters. The spoliation claimants now requested Congress to pay their claims, arguing that it was unfair for the federal government to secure the cancellation of a public debt at the expense of its individual citizens, and that having received an equivalent, it was bound to pay their claims. For four-score years renewals of this petition came before Congress before the claimants secured any measure of justice. Twice an appropriation for their relief has passed Congress, but the first time it was vetoed by Polk (on which occasion but one vote was wanting in the Senate to override the veto) and the second time by Pierce. Finally, a bill passed Congress and was approved by President Arthur on January 20, 1885, ordering the Court of Claims to investigate and report to Congress upon the French spoliation claims, so that now it would seem as if justice would be done.

Fugitive Slave Laws.—Under the colonial governments, as well as under the Articles of Confederation, the surrender of slaves that had escaped to another State was a matter of comity merely. The Constitution of the United States contains a clause in Article 4

directing the return of escaped slaves to their masters. The word "slave" is not, however, used. The first law under this provision was passed in 1793, and it provided for the return of escaped slaves and criminals. One of its provisions, imposing on magistrates of the States duties under federal statutes, led to some complications, but an attempt in 1818 to amend it failed. The Compromise of 1850 provided a new and more stringent law, under which the refusal of a marshal to execute writs under the act subjected him to fine. He was also liable for the value of slaves escaping from his custody. All good citizens were required to aid the marshal, and a fine together with imprisonment was the punishment for obstructing an arrest or attempting a rescue. Moreover, the testimony of the person claimed as slave was never to be taken. The fee of the commissioner was ten dollars if the prisoner was adjudged a slave, but only five dollars if he was declared free. Under this law the kidnaping of free blacks at the North became more frequent, and many cases of revolting, inhuman and almost incredible cruelty occurred. The North never heartily supported the law, many States passing "personal liberty laws" to counteract its effect, and the South considered this course a breach of faith. The gulf between them grew still wider, the Civil War followed, but it was not until 1864 that the fugitive slave laws were repealed.

Fusion.—Where a number of officers are elected on a general ticket, it will sometimes happen when more than two parties are in the field, that several of the parties will agree on a joint ticket. Such a ticket is called a fusion ticket. In the presidential election of 1880, the Democrats and the Greenbackers in Maine nominated such an electoral ticket. Had this ticket been elected, it would have cast three votes for the Democratic and four for the Greenback candidate.

Gadsden Purchase. (*See Annexations V.*)

Gag Laws.—On February 5, 1836, Henry L. Pinckney, of South Carolina, introduced a resolution into the House of Representatives providing that all memorials

praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, be referred to a select committee with instructions to report that Congress had no power to interfere with slavery in the States, and that, in the opinion of the House, it would be a violation of public faith to interfere with the institution in the District. This was adopted. This committee recommended that all petitions or papers relating to slavery or its abolition "shall, without either being printed or referred, be laid upon the table." Similar resolutions were adopted at following sessions in January, and, on motion of John M. Patton, of Virginia, in December, 1837. On December 11, 1838, Charles G. Atherton, of New Hampshire, introduced a set of resolutions declaring that Congress can not interfere with slavery in the States, that agitation of the subject in the District "was part of the plan of operations to affect the institution . . . in the several States," that Congress has no right to do indirectly what it cannot do directly, or to discriminate against or in favor of the institutions of any section, "that all attempts on the part of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia or the Territories, or to prohibit the removal of slaves from State to State," is unconstitutional, and that all papers or memorials in any way affecting the subject "be laid on the table without being debated, printed or referred." This was adopted. Once more, in 1840, a similar resolution was adopted on motion of William Cost Johnson, of Maryland, declaring that the reception of any such petitions shall be considered as objected to and the question laid on the table. This last was adopted as the twenty-first rule of the House. John Quincy Adams was the mouthpiece of the petitioners, and at length in December, 1844, his annual motion to rescind the rule was carried.

Gallatin, Albert, was born at Geneva, Switzerland, January 29, 1761, and died at Astoria, New York, August 12, 1849. He was graduated at the University of Geneva. In this country he was instructor at Harvard University. In 1785 he settled in Western Pennsylvania where he took part in the Whisky Insurrection.

He was a member of the House of Representatives from 1795 to 1801. From 1802 to 1814 he was Secretary of the Treasury. In 1814 he negotiated the Treaty of Ghent; in 1815 he became minister to France, and in 1826 minister to Great Britain. In 1827 he settled in New York City, becoming president of a bank.

G. A. R.—An abbreviation for the *Grand Army of the Republic* (*which see*).

Garden of the West.—A name sometimes applied to the State of Kansas.

Garfield, James Abram, was born at Orange, Cuyahoga County, Ohio, November 19, 1831, and died at Elberon, New Jersey, September 19, 1881. At an early age he was obliged to work for a living, but by strenuous efforts he managed to get an education; he graduated at Williams College, and subsequently was admitted to the bar. In 1859 and 1860 he served in the Ohio Senate. In 1861 he enlisted in the Civil War and rose to the rank of major-general. In 1862 he was elected to Congress, in which he served until 1881. In 1880 he was elected Senator, but before he could assume the position he was nominated for President by the Republicans and elected. He did not long enjoy the position; a disappointed office-seeker named Guiteau revenged himself by shooting him July 2, 1881, and after lingering over two months he died.

Garland, Augustus H., was born in Tipton County, Tennessee, June 11, 1832; in his childhood his family moved to Arkansas. He is a graduate of St. Joseph's College, Bardstown, Kentucky. He served in the Confederate Congress. He was chosen to the United States Senate, but admission was refused to him. He was in 1874 elected Governor of his State, having previously served as acting Secretary of State. In 1876 he was elected to the United States Senate; in 1882 he was re-elected almost unanimously. He was appointed Attorney-General in the Cabinet of President Cleveland in March, 1885.

Garrisonians.—A name applied to those abolitionists that adhered to William Lloyd Garrison, when in 1838

a large portion of that body seceded from his leadership. They were the radical wing, and went so far as to consider even voting a compromise with crime, inasmuch as the Constitution (as they claimed) supported slavery. They stood squarely on the right of every innocent human being to equal freedom with every other, and refused to support any other view, even by implication. At the South their lives were in danger; at the North odium was heaped upon them, and even there they were not always safe.

Garrison, William Lloyd, was born at Newburyport, Massachusetts, December, 1804. His parents were poor and his education was obtained by his own efforts. Having successively tried and abandoned shoe-making and cabinet-making, he became a printer, and finally started a newspaper, the *Free Press*, in his native town. Moving to Boston, he was the editor of a temperance journal, *The National Philanthropist*, until in 1828 he moved to Bennington, Vermont, to take charge of the *Journal of the Times*. Though ably edited, this journal was not a success, and in 1829 Garrison, at the instance of Benjamin Lundy, went to Baltimore as editor of *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*. Here his frank utterances caused him to be fined and imprisoned. Arthur Tappan, of New York, paid his fine, anticipating Henry Clay, who had determined to do the same, and soon afterward Garrison left for Boston, where in 1831 he began the publication of *The Liberator*. This journal was the organ of the abolitionists, and its outspoken views subjected the editor to much odium and abuse. The paper was published until 1865, when, slavery having disappeared its object was accomplished. Garrison died May 24, 1879. (*See Garrisonians.*)

General of the Army is the highest grade in that service. It had been held by Washington for a short time in 1799, and then lapsed. It was revived especially for General U. S. Grant, who was appointed thereto July 25, 1866. On his election to the presidency, General William T. Sherman was nominated to succeed him. It was decreed by Congress that this grade and that of

Lieutenant-General were to lapse after the retirement of Generals Sherman and Sheridan respectively. General Sherman having retired November 1, 1883, the grade is now non-existent.

General Taylor Never Surrenders, was the reply of Mr. Crittenden, who had gone to Santa Anna's headquarters, to an offer of protection to General Zachary Taylor if the latter would surrender. This was at the battle of Buena Vista, in the Mexican War.

Genet, Citizen, was the name commonly given to Edmond Charles Genet, who arrived at Charleston, South Carolina, in April, 1793, as embassador from France to the United States. This was during the French Revolution. Monarchy had been overthrown and the king beheaded. A reign of terror ensued and France was at war with England and other European nations. Genet's object was to secure the active assistance of the United States, and he relied largely on the treaty of 1778 between our country and France. After consultation with his Cabinet, and by their unanimous advice, Washington on April 22, 1793, issued a proclamation declaring the complete neutrality of the United States. Genet, trusting to the sympathy of the people for the country that had rendered so much assistance in the Revolution, and to their hatred for England, used violent language to our executive government, organized secret political societies, enlisted men for expeditions against Florida and New Orleans (then Spanish possessions), and fitted out privateers from our ports. His defiance of the government and his efforts to discredit the administration in the eyes of the American people finally alienated their support of his course, and led President Washington to ask his recall by the French government. In January, 1794, Washington was able to announce that this request had been complied with, Genet passed the remainder of his life in New York, where he was married and naturalized.

Geneva Award.—The settlement of the Alabama Claims was referred by the Treaty of Washington to five arbitrators, to be appointed by the President of the

United States, the Queen of Great Britain, the King of Italy, the President of the Swiss Confederation and the Emperor of Brazil. These rulers, in the above order, named as arbitrators Charles Francis Adams, Lord Chief-Justice Sir Alexander Cockburn, Count Federigo Sclopis, Mr. Jaques Staempfli and Baron Itajuba. J. C. Bancroft Davis and Lord Tenterden, respectively, represented as agents the United States and Great Britain. The tribunal met at Geneva, Switzerland, on December 15, 1871, and Count Sclopis was made president. Each government submitted its proofs and arguments, which were carefully considered by the arbitrators. The United States claimed damages both for direct and for indirect losses, and for injuries occasioned by thirteen vessels. The tribunal decided to allow only direct losses caused by the Florida and the Alabama, with their tenders, and by the Shenandoah during part of her cruise. Various rules of international law were laid down which supported most of the contentions of our government. It was decided that the expenses incurred in pursuing the cruisers and the prospective earnings of the destroyed merchant vessels should not be included in the award; that net, and not gross, freights should be allowed, and that reasonable interest should be included. Finally, on the 14th of September, 1872, the tribunal "awarded to the United States a sum of $15,500,000 in gold as the indemnity to be paid by Great Britain to the United States as the satisfaction of all the claims referred to the consideration of the tribunal." The English representative cast the only dissenting vote, but Great Britain accepted the decision and paid the award within a year.

Gentleman George.—A name applied to George H. Pendleton, of Ohio. Pendleton was born in Ohio in 1825. In 1879 he was elected United States Senator, and was in 1885 appointed United States Minister to Germany. He was a Democrat. Died Nov. 24, 1889.

George, Henry, was born in Philadelphia September 2, 1839. While very young he went to sea; ultimately he settled in California where he became a jour-

nalist. In 1879 his book, "Progress and Poverty," was published. In this he states his well-known theory that the rise of land values is the cause of want, and that the remedy lies in taxing land to its full rent value. In 1886 he was nominated as mayor of the city of New York by the United Labor party, receiving 68,110 votes to 90,552 cast for the Democratic and 60,435 for the Republican candidate. He subsequently founded the *Standard*, a weekly newspaper devoted to labor interests, which he is still editing.

Georgia was one of the original States of the Union. On January 19, 1861, a State convention passed an ordinance of secession, and Georgia was re-admitted to the Union by act of June 25, 1868; but the State was considered by Congress to have failed in complying with its reconstruction policy and the re-admission was not complete till made so by act of July 15, 1870. The capital is Atlanta. The population in 1880 was 1,542,180, and in the last census (1890) 1,837,353. Georgia sends ten representatives to Congress and has twelve electoral votes, which can always be relied on by the Democratic party. It was named as a colony in honor of George II, King of England, and is called popularly the Empire State of the South. (*See Cherokee Case; Governors; Legislatures*; *Territories; Yazoo Fraud.*)

German Vote.—The census of 1880 placed the total population of the United States at about 50,000,000, of which 43,500,000 was native and 6,500,000 foreign born. It showed, moreover, about 12,800,000 males of the age of 21 years or over. The total presidential vote in that year was 9,200,000. Of the foreign born inhabitants 1,960,000 were of German and 1,850,000 of Irish birth. Many of these foreigners were of course not yet naturalized. The political affiliations of children are apt to run on the same lines with those of their fathers, and in estimating the influence in elections of foreign voters the following will be of interest: The total of residents in the United States in 1880 whose fathers were foreign (regardless of whether they themselves were native or foreign born) was about 14,500,000. Of these 4,880,000

were of German and 4,500,000 of Irish fathers. In 1884 the total vote for President was about 9,550,000. In 1888 the population of the United States was about 63,000,000. The importance of these figures lies in the fact that political parties and demagogues are always ready to give their support to measures peculiarly adapted to enlist the sympathy and support of these voters. (*See Population of the United States.*)

Gerry, Elbridge, was born at Marblehead, Massachusetts, July 17, 1744, and died November 23, 1814. He was a graduate of Harvard. He was a member of the Continental Congress from 1776 to 1780 and 1783 to 1785. He was a member of the Convention of 1787. He was in Congress from 1789 to 1793, and was a commissioner to France. (*See X. Y. Z. Mission.*) He was elected Vice-President in 1812 on the Republican (Democratic-Republican) ticket, and died in office.

Gerrymander.—Gerrymandering is the process of so arranging electoral districts as to give a majority of Congressmen, or State legislators, as the case may be, to the party having the minority in the total popular vote of the State. This is accomplished by combining a community having a large majority in favor of the manipulating party, with another in which that party has a minority a little smaller than its majority in the former; the result of the union is a district in which the party has a small majority. This process has been practiced all over the Union. Its name arose as follows: In 1814 the Senate districts of Massachusetts were laid out with the aim of electing to that body a majority of Democrats. The result was great irregularity in the shape of many of the districts. One in particular was so distorted that the Boston *Centinel* published a colored map of it, to which a few artistic touches were added for the purpose of giving it resemblance to some monstrous animal. This mythical animal they named "gerrymander," composed of the surname of Eldridge Gerry, Democratic Governor of the State, and of the termination of "salamander."

Gettysburg Speech.—A speech delivered by Presi-

dent Lincoln, on the battle-field of Gettysburg, on the occasion of the dedication of a cemetery for the soldiers that had fallen in that battle. The speech is given in full under *Lincoln, Abraham.*

Giddings' Resolutions.—On March 21, 1842, Joshua R. Giddings, of Ohio, offered a series of nine resolutions in the House of Representatives relating to the *Creole Case* (*which see*). They were in effect that the States had never delegated their jurisdiction of the subject of slavery to the United States; that slavery, an abridgement of a natural right, can exist only by positive law, and that a United States vessel on the high seas is under United States, and no longer under State, jurisdiction; and, finally, bringing the Creole into the above class of ships, they declared that no law was violated by the slaves in securing their freedom, and that attempts to reënslave the escaped slaves would be unconstitutional and unrepublican. The House at once put a stop to all discussion on these resolutions, and passed a resolution censuring Giddings. He resigned his seat, but was at once reëlected by an overwhelming majority, with instructions to present the resolutions again, a thing which he did not, however, succeed in doing.

Gilded Trap.—A nickname applied to the Constitution while it was before the people for ratification.

Gilmore Peace Negotiations.—In 1864 Colonel J. F. Jaquess, of the Seventy-third Illinois Infantry, believing himself inspired by the Almighty to make peace between the North and the South, appealed to the president, through Mr. James R. Gilmore, for authority to visit Richmond and begin negotiations. Mr. Gilmore was an author, and a great friend of President Lincoln. The president positively declined to appear openly in the matter, but he rather wished Jaquess to go, in order to find out informally whether the Confederate government was disposed to treat for peace. Jaquess was not successful in getting through the lines, but his plan suggested to Mr. Gilmore the idea that if an offer of terms of peace were made to Jefferson Davis,

and rejected by him, the publication of the fact would count for much in the presidential election. The Northern Democrats were then proposing to run McClellan on a "peace with union" platform, and if it could be shown that the South would consent to nothing less than independence, the continuation of the war would appear inevitable. Moved by this argument, Lincoln allowed Gilmore to go to Richmond, informally and without diplomatic authority, to sound Davis as to his willingness to make peace on certain specified terms. These were briefly—(1) the restoration of the union, (2) the abolition of slavery, (3) full amnesty to all engaged in rebellion, (4) $400,000,000 in United States bonds to be distributed among the states to be used in payment for slaves at one-half their value in 1860. The Southern states were to have immediate representation in Congress on the basis of their voting population, and a National Constitutional Convention was to be called to make such changes in the Constitution as might be necessary to perpetuate the new order of things. Gilmore went to Richmond and had several interviews with President Davis, but the latter refused to negotiate on any basis except those of complete Southern independence. Mr. Gilmore then returned, and wished to publish a full account of his mission, admitting its official character. President Lincoln, however, positively objected, and made Mr. Gilmore promise not to reveal the fact that he (Lincoln) had sanctioned the mission, or make public the terms offered. This was not done until 1887.

Give Me Liberty, or Give Me Death.—Patrick Henry delivered a speech in the Virginia Convention, in March, 1775, favoring a resolution "that the colony be immediately put in a state of defense," and concluded as follows: "Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty, or give me death!"

God Reigns, and the Government at Washington Still Lives.—These were the closing words of

a brief address made by James A. Garfield, then a representative in Congress, to a large assemblage in Wall Street, New York, on April 15, 1865, the morning after the assassination of Lincoln. The crowd were about to move for an attack on the *World* newspaper office, which had violently opposed Lincoln. Suddenly Garfield's voice was heard to calm their passions. He spoke briefly as follows: "Fellow-citizens! Clouds and darkness are round about Him. His pavilion is dark waters and thick clouds of the skies. Justice and judgment are the establishment of His throne. Mercy and truth shall go before His face. Fellow-citizens! God reigns, and the government at Washington still lives!"

Gold Bugs.—Those that oppose the compulsory coinage of standard silver dollars are so called by those that favor their compulsory coinage. (*See Silver Question.*)

Good Enough Morgan Till After Election.—Thurlow Weed was one of the foremost of the anti-Masonic agitators in New York State. The disappearance of Morgan and the discovery of what was supposed to be his dead body, created intense excitement. (*See Anti-Masonic Party.*) Weed took full advantage of this feeling, and when doubt was cast on the identity of the body thus found, he is said to have remarked in private that it was a "good enough Morgan till after election."

Gotham.—A name sometimes applied to New York City.

Government of the People, by the People, and for the People, Shall Not Perish from the Earth.—The last sentence of President Lincoln's Gettysburg speech. (*See Lincoln, Abraham.*)

Grand Army of the Republic.—Soon after the close of the Civil War Dr. B. F. Stephenson, who had been surgeon in a volunteer regiment, suggested the organization of Union veterans into a national association for mutual assistance. In accordance with his suggestion and by his efforts the first post was founded at Decatur, Illinois, April 6, 1866. Other posts in that

and other States were rapidly formed. The "post" is the local organization. The "department" is the State or territorial organization. The whole is under a commander-in-chief and a national council of administration consisting of one member from each department. Once a year there takes place a national convention or encampment at which the commander-in-chief is elected. A belief that the organization was intended for political purposes led to a considerable decrease of membership in 1868; to remedy which a rule was adopted forbidding any political use to be made of it. The first commander-in-chief was Stephen A. Hurlburt, elected at the national encampment at Indianapolis in 1866; the present incumbent is John Palmer, elected at the encampment at Detroit in 1891. The membership is now 398,270.

Grangers.—In 1867 a secret society known as the Patrons of Husbandry was formed in Washington. Its object was to aid the farmers by enabling them to cooperate and purchase their supplies at first hand, and by offering opportunities for social and educational improvement. Lodges called Granges were established in several Western States. The association received a setback through the financial reverses of many of its lodges, which had, without proper training, engaged in business enterprises. Nevertheless, they succeeded in 1873 and 1874 in carrying the legislatures of Illinois and Wisconsin; these legislatures passed stringent laws directed against "extortion and unjust discrimination in the rates charged for the transportation of passengers and freights." These acts were subsequently repealed but while they were in force had a very unfavorable effect on the railroads. In Congress their efforts led to considerable discussion regarding the regulation of interstate commerce, since consummated by the act of February 4, 1887. Similar societies—the Farmers' Alliance, in the South and Northwest, and the Agricultural Wheel, in the Middle South—are now becoming influential as social and agricultural powers. The Grangers have virtually passed out of politics.

Grant, Ulysses Simpson, or Hiram Ulysses Grant, was born at Point Pleasant, Clermont County, Ohio,

April 27, 1822, and died at Mt. McGregor, near Saratoga, New York, July 23, 1885. His name was Hiram Ulysses, but an error on the part of the Congressman that named him for West Point caused his name to be entered there as Ulysses S., and by that name he has since gone; Simpson he adopted, it being a name in his mother's family. He graduated at West Point in 1843, and remained in the army until 1854, serving in the Mexican War. In 1854 he resigned his commission and engaged in business. At the outbreak of the Civil War he raised a company; he was rapidly promoted, and in 1862 had risen to the rank of major-general of volunteers. He was made major-general in the regular army July 4, 1863, lieutenant-general March 2, 1864, and finally general of the army July 25, 1866. He was for a short time Secretary of War, *ad interum*, under Johnson. The crowning event of his military career was the surrender of Lee to him at Appomattox, April 9, 1865. In 1868 he was nominated for the presidency by the Republican party and elected. In 1872 he was again elected. In 1880, one term having intervened, a strong effort to renominate him was made, but it failed. His second term was marked by various scandals like the Whisky Ring, but no one ever connected the President's name with them. Among the principal events of his administration are the completion of the Pacific Railways and the settlement of the Alabama claims. He was a plain man, possessed of much common sense; unskilled in public affairs and unfortunate in the choice of his civil subordinates; to these latter he clung even when their guilt was clear to other minds, and so made himself the target for much abuse. His world-wide reputation is due to his great military achievements.

Gray-Eyed Man of Destiny.—A phrase sometimes applied to Gen. William Walker, the filibuster.

Greasers.—A name applied to the Mexicans, especially during the Mexican War.

Great Beast with the Great Belly.—A name which the early Republicans (Democrats) applied to the navy on account of its expense.

Great Commoner.—A title given to Thaddeus Stevens and also to Henry Clay. The phrase was originally used with reference to William Pitt, a great leader in the English House of Commons in the latter part of the last century.

Great Pacificator. — This name is applied to Henry Clay on account of his propensity to suggest compromises for the purpose of settling disputes. (*See Missouri Compromise; Compromise of* 1850; *Compromise Tariff.*)

Greeley, Horace, was born at Amherst, New Hampshire, February 3, 1811, and died near New York City, November 29, 1872. He was a printer by trade; turning his attention to journalism he founded the New York *Tribune* in 1841. In 1848 and 1849 he sat in the House of Representatives as a Whig, and in 1872 he was the presidential nominee of the Liberal Republicans. His newspaper became one of the most prominent abolition papers; through it he also advocated a protective tariff and internal improvements. Personally he was very eccentric, one of his peculiarities being his custom of wearing a white high hat both winter and summer, a style that became known as "Greeley" hats.

Greenback-Labor Party.—The demand for agricultural products on the part of the government during the war tended to render farmers prosperous; their prosperity was increased by the payment in greenbacks of debts previously contracted, and these concurrent circumstances have tended to make agricultural sections look on the unlimited issue of paper money as the cure for all economic evils. A convention of Greenbackers was held in 1874, and it was resolved that it was desirable to have all bank currency withdrawn and only national currency issued, and, moreover, to have the principal of that portion of the national debt not in terms made payable in gold, paid in currency. As early as 1868 this plan had been known as the Ohio Idea. The Democratic party in 1875 showed some leaning toward these views, but it soon fell off from them. In 1876 the Greenbackers held a national convention, and adopt-

ing the name of Independent party nominated Peter Cooper, of New York, for the presidency. The party polled a total of about 80,000 votes. Its strength lay mainly in the agricultural regions, in Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas and Michigan. In 1877 the party's vote in the State elections was about 185,000. About this time the labor reform parties assumed greater prominence, and in several States the labor and greenback parties united. In 1878 a national convention adopted the name of National party. In that year its vote rose to 1,000,000, and a number of National representatives were elected usually by fusions with whichever party happened to be in the minority in any district. In 1880 James B. Weaver, of Iowa, was nominated for President, polling about 300,000 votes; in 1884 the nominee was Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts, who was also the Anti-Monopoly candidate, the joint ticket being known as the People's party, and the vote about 130,000. The principles of the party as constituted at that time are given under *Party Platforms.*

Greenbacks.—A familiar name applied to the National bank notes and the Legal tender notes by reason of the appearance of the reverse side.

Green Mountain Boys.—A name applied to the male inhabitants of Vermont, from the chief range of mountains in the State, and used especially in referring to regiments from Vermont in the Revolution and the Civil War.

Guano Statesman. (*See Peruvian Guano Troubles.*)

Gunboat System.—President Jefferson and the Republicans (*see Democratic-Republican Party*) opposed the formation of a navy on the ground of its cost. As an alternative Jefferson proposed the building of gunboats for defensive purposes, and the act of February 28, 1803, appropriated $50,000 for the purpose. In the following years the subject was further amplified and a complete system of coast defense on this plan was adopted in 1806. Gunboats to the number of 250 were to be built, of these a few were to remain in active service, the remainder to be properly stored at the princi-

pal seaports, and in case of danger to be manned by local seamen and militia trained for the purpose. This system of coast defense, moreover, included heavy movable batteries to be placed at convenient points on the coast; these were to be moved to the spot at which danger threatened, and to be used against hostile fleets attempting to land. During the war of 1812 the necessity of a sea-going fleet became apparent, and the gunboat system was abandoned.

Habeas Corpus is a writ which takes its name from its characterizing Latin words *ut habeas corpus*. There are several varieties of this writ, but the one referred to in the Constitution and generally meant is that of *habeas corpus ad subjiciendum*, which is issued by a court directing that the body of a prisoner be produced before it, that it may inquire into the cause of his detention and discharge him if he is unlawfully restrained. It is granted as a matter of right on the verified petition of the prisoner or some one acting in his behalf. The right to this writ was secured to the English people by Magna Charta and confirmed by the Petition of Right. The Constitution of the United States (Article 1, section 9, clause 2) provides that "the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it." The States, also, provide for the issuance of the writ in their several courts. Federal courts grant the writ when the imprisonment is under pretense of federal authority or federal rights are involved. The power to suspend the writ of habeas corpus has been held by the Supreme Court to rest with Congress alone, though that body may delegate its authority to the President by statute. In sudden emergencies it is sometimes necessary for the President to suspend the writ without previous authority, but Congress may afterward validate his course. Previous to the Civil War the Federal writ of habeas corpus had never been suspended. At the commencement of that struggle Lincoln found it necessary to suspend it, and Congress subsequently validated his action, and in March, 1863, gave the President

almost unlimited discretionary power to suspend the writ. This was accordingly done, and many arbitrary arrests were made of persons suspected of disloyalty, with the result of causing much bitter feeling in the North. In October, 1864, a court-martial in Indiana sentenced several persons to death for treasonable designs; from the name of the most prominent prisoner the affair was known as the "Milligan Case." The United States circuit court issued a writ of habeas corpus, and being divided in opinion as to releasing the prisoners, the case was taken to the Supreme Court. There it was held in 1866 that the privilege of the writ could not be suspended in districts where the action of the civil courts was not interrupted, except that military commissions might be given jurisdiction to try residents of rebellious States, prisoners of war, and persons in the military and naval services. In December, 1865, President Johnson proclaimed the restoration of the privilege of the writ throughout most of the North; in April, 1866, everywhere except in Texas; and in August, 1866, in that State also. The Ku-Klux troubles led to an act authorizing the local suspension of the writ in 1871 for which see *Ku-Klux Klan* and *Force Bill*. One solitary instance has occurred of the suspension of the privilege of this writ in time of peace and when the public safety did not seem to demand it. In 1865 Mrs. Mary E. Surratt was in custody of the military authorities, having been condemned to death by a military commission for conspiring in the murder of President Lincoln. A writ of habeas corpus to produce her and show by what lawful authority she was held was issued by Judge Wylie of the District of Columbia and served on Gen. Hancock, the commander of the district. President Johnson, fearing the defeat of, or a delay in, the execution of Mrs. Surratt, issued the following order:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, July 7, 1865, 10 A. M.

To Major-General W. S. Hancock, Commanding, etc.:

I, Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, do hereby declare that the writ of *habeas corpus* has been heretofore suspended in such cases as this, and I do hereby especially sus-

pend this writ, and direct that you proceed to execute the order heretofore given upon the judgment of the Military Commission, and you will give this order in return to this writ. ANDREW JOHNSON, President.

Notwithstanding Johnson's assertion to the contrary, his action seems to have been without precedent and wholly unwarranted; but it served the purpose and Mrs. Surratt was hanged.

Hail Columbia.—The words of this national song were written by Judge Joseph Hopkinson during President John Adams' administration. The air was composed by the leader of the orchestra of the only theatre in the capital, in honor of George Washington. The composer, named Pfyles, Feyles, or Fyles, called it the President's March, but after the words had been written for it, both air and words passed under the name of *Hail Columbia,* the opening words of the song.

Half-Breeds. (*See Stalwarts.*)

Halifax Fishery Commission.—In accordance with the provisions of the Treaty of Washington (*see Fishery Treaties; Treaty of Washington*), the joint commission to determine the compensation which the United States should pay to Great Britain for the privileges granted the former by the treaty referred to, met at Halifax, Nova Scotia, in the summer of 1877. It was composed of Hon. Ensign H. Kellogg, appointed by the President, Sir Alexander T. Galt, appointed by the Queen, and Maurice Delfosse, selected by the Austrian Minister to Great Britain. Reliable statistics could not be obtained, but finally by the casting vote of Delfosse it was decided, in November, 1877, that the United States should pay to Great Britain $5,500,000. The award created general surprise and, in the United States, much indignation, but it was duly paid the next year.

Hamilton, Alexander, was born on the Island of Nevis, West Indies, January 11, 1757, and died at New York, July 12, 1804, killed in a duel with Aaron Burr. He left King's (now Columbia) College and entered the Continental Army. He was Washington's aide during

the Revolution. He was a member of the Continental Congress from 1782 to 1783, and of the Convention of 1787. From 1789 to 1795 he was Secretary of the Treasury, and in 1798, when Washington was appointed lieutenant-general, the actual command of the army fell to Hamilton. His perspicacity and power of thought were remarkable. In his own day one of the most abused as well as one of the most lauded of men, the correctness of his judgment has been again and again vindicated by events. He was the undisputed head of the nationalizing element in American politics, the leader of the Broad Constructionists. (*See Whisky Insurrection.*) His skill as a financier was well characterized by Webster in the words: "He smote the rock of the national resources and abundant streams of revenue gushed forth. He touched the dead corpse of public credit and it sprung upon its feet."

Hamlin, Hannibal, was born at Paris, Maine, August 27, 1809. He was a lawyer. From 1843 to 1847 he served in Congress, and from 1848 to 1857 in the Senate, as a Democrat. From 1857 to 1861 he was in the Senate as a Republican, and again from 1869 to 1881. In this last year he was appointed Minister to Spain, but resigned in 1882. He died July 4, 1891.

Hancock, Winfield Scott, was born February 24, 1824, in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania. A graduate of West Point, he served in the Civil War, rising to the rank of major-general. After the war he was placed in command of the fifth military district. An order, issued by him in 1867 as commander, restoring the civil tribunals of his district, caused him to be severely criticised by Republicans, and made him correspondingly popular with Democrats, to whose party he belonged. He was the Democratic presidential nominee in 1880. He died February 9, 1886.

Hard Cider Campaign.—In the presidential campaign of 1840 the political enemies of William Henry Harrison, the Whig candidate, told stories of his having lived in a log cabin with nothing but hard cider to drink. His friends claimed that this was rather to his

credit than otherwise, and log cabins were used in the parades of his adherents. "Hard cider," as well as "log cabin," became party cries. In fact, the whole campaign was based on Harrison's sturdy qualities and his military reputation. One of his best known victories was at Tippecanoe against the Shawnee Indians in 1811, while he was Governor of the Territory of Indiana. This, too, was turned to account, and the cry of "Tippecanoe and Tyler, too," figured prominently in the campaign. John Tyler was the nominee for Vice-President.

Hards or Hard Shells. (*See Hunkers.*)

Harrison, Benjamin, was born in North Bend, Ohio, August 20, 1833. He was graduated at the Miami University, Ohio, and moved to Indiana, where he practiced law. He served on the Union side in the Civil War, and became a brigadier-general. He was several times elected reporter of the State Supreme Court. In 1876 he was defeated for Governor. In 1880 he was elected United States Senator; at the expiration of his term he retired to private life. In 1888 the Republican party named him for President. He is the grandson of William Henry Harrison.

Harrison, William Henry, was born in Charles County, Virginia, February 9, 1773, and died April 4, 1841. He was an officer of the regular army and fought against the Indians under General Wayne. In 1801 he was appointed Governor of Indiana Territory, having previously served as secretary. As Governor he won the famous battle of Tippecanoe against the Indians. After the surrender of Hull during the War of 1812, he was appointed to command the army in that region, with the rank, first of brigadier-general and subsequently of major-general. He served in the House of Representatives from 1816 to 1819, and in the Senate from 1825 to 1828, representing the State of Ohio. From 1828 to 1829 he was Minister to Colombia. In 1836 he was defeated for the presidency, but at the next election, 1840, he was successful. He served but one month, dying in office. In politics he was a Whig.

Hartford Convention.—The War of 1812 against England had been entered into in the face of the protest of the New England and northern Middle States. These being commercial in their pursuits had everything to lose by war; what they demanded was a strong navy to protect commerce. In politics they were Federalists. When the Democratic majority in Congress had forced the war on the Democratic President, Madison, and hostilities had actually commenced, these States took no active part in the struggle; they opposed the war; finally, in October, 1814, Massachusetts passed a resolution inviting the other New England States to a convention having in view an ultimate convention of all the States for the purpose of a revision of the Constitution. Connecticut and Rhode Island and some counties of New Hampshire and Vermont signified their approval of this course, but these resolutions explicitly declared that the proposed action was to be within the limits of the Constitution. The reverses of the war had put the Democratic party into no humor for these proceedings; they were denounced; it was charged that there was a conspiracy to establish a grand duchy under an English prince; government agents were sent all over New England to find proofs of these facts. As a matter of fact the convention of twenty-six representatives from Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire and Vermont met at Hartford, Connecticut, December 15, 1814; this convention disclaimed any intention to dissolve the Union at that time; such dissolution, it declared, must "be the work of peaceable times and deliberate consent." Among the grievances it recited were the "easy admission of naturalized foreigners to places of trust, honor and profit," and the easy formation of new Western States; it desired the defense of every State to be entrusted to the State itself, and declared it to be "as much the duty of the State authorities to watch over the rights *reserved*, as of the United States to exercise the powers which are *delegated*." It desired changes in the Constitution as follows: Abrogation of the right of Southern States to

representation for three-fifths of their slaves; requirement of a two-thirds vote of both Houses for the admission of new States or the prohibition of commercial intercourse or to declare war or to authorize hostilities except in cases of invasion; embargoes to be limited to sixty days; foreigners to be disqualified from all civil offices under the United States; Presidents to be ineligible for a second term, and no two successive Presidents to be from the same State. Massachusetts and Connecticut sent commissioners to Washington to attempt to carry out the suggestions of the report, but the war had in the meantime ended and the commissioners were ignored. The convention did not meet again; but the odium attaching to it was so great that its president placed a copy of the proceedings in the hands of the Massachusetts Secretary of State in order thus to disprove charges of treason.

Hayes, Rutherford Birchard, was born at Delaware, Ohio, October 4, 1822. He was graduated at Kenyon College; by profession he was a lawyer. He was at one time city solicitor of Cincinnati. He served in the Civil War, rising to the grade of brevet major-general. In 1864 he was elected to Congress. In 1867 he became Governor of Ohio, a post to which he was again elected in 1875. In the next year he was nominated for President by the Republicans, and after a sharp contest elected. (*See Disputed Presidential and Vice-Presidential Elections; Electoral Commission.*) The refunding of the National debt and the resumption of specie payments were the most important events of his administration. Hayes has not held office since his retirement.

Hayne, Robert Young, was born in St. Paul's Parish, South Carolina, 1791. He was admitted to the bar before he was twenty-one years of age. He served in the war of 1812, held various offices in his native State, and in 1823 was elected to the United States Senate; he is principally known for his debate in that body with Webster on Foot's Resolution. The scope of the debate on this resolution concerning Western public land, took in the topic of "State rights," which was thoroughly dis-

cussed, and the speeches on both sides are spendid oratorical efforts.

Headquarters, The, of the Army of the Potomac will be in the Saddle.—This rather boastful order is said to have been issued by General Pope on assuming command of that army during the Civil War, though he has always denied it.

He Could Not be Kicked Into a War.—President Madison's extreme reluctance to enter into war with Great Britain in 1812 led to the above remark in Congress.

Helderberg War. (*See Anti-Renters.*)

Hendricks, Thomas Anderson, was born in Muskingum County, Ohio, September 17, 1819, and died at Indianapolis, November 24, 1885. In his childhood his family moved to Indiana. He was graduated at Hanover College and admitted to the bar. He served in the State House of Representatives and Senate, and in 1851 was elected to Congress, in which he served one year. From 1855 to 1859 he was Commissioner of the Land Office, and from 1863 to 1869 United States Senator. After being twice defeated he was in 1872 elected Governor of Indiana. In 1876 he ran for Vice-President and was defeated. In 1884 he was again nominated and this time elected. He was a Democrat.

Henry Affair. (*See Henry Documents.*)

Henry Documents.—Sir James H. Craig, the Governor of British North America, in January, 1809, sent an adventurer, John Henry by name, into the New England States to report the feeling of that section of the country on the question of secession from the Union, and possibly to increase the discontent already caused among these people of commercial interests by the Embargo Act and the Non-Intercourse system of the government. Failing of the reward he sought from the British ministry, Henry sold to President Madison for $50,000 his correspondence with the English officials, and these papers became known as the Henry documents. Madison submitted the letters to Congress and claimed that they proved a design on the part of Eng-

land to annex the New England States. They do not make certain, however, that the Eastern States entertained seriously the idea of secession. This whole episode is often referred to as the Henry affair.

Hermitage.—By this name was known Andrew Jackson's home, about twelve miles from Nashville, Tenn.

Hero of Appomattox is the name applied to General Ulysses S. Grant. It was at Appomattox Court House, Virginia, April 9, 1865, that General Lee's forces surrendered to Grant.

Hero of New Orleans.—General Andrew Jackson was so called in allusion to his victory over the British troops at New Orleans on January 8, 1815.

He Smote the Rock of the National Resources and Abundant Streams of Revenue Gushed Forth.—Said of Alexander Hamilton by Daniel Webster.

He Touched the Dead Corpse of Public Credit and it Sprung Upon its Feet.—This was said by Daniel Webster of Alexander Hamilton.

Higher Law.—William H. Seward, in a speech delivered March 11, 1850, declared, "There is a higher law than the Constitution," referring to the moral law.

High-flying Federalists.—A nickname applied in the first years of the government to that portion of the Federalists that were attached to official pomp and splendor.

High License.—This term, as used generally at present, means the enforcement of a high tax on the retail sellers of intoxicating liquors so as to raise the price of liquor and prevent its consumption to some extent, and especially so as to drive out of the business the low groggeries, which are the birthplaces of most of the distress and crime that result from drunkenness. The evils resulting from intemperance are universally admitted, but how to prevent or decrease intemperance is a disputed question. Prohibitionists as a rule do not favor high license. They do not accept it even as a half-way measure. They contend that prohibition is

more effectual, and that any form of licensing the liquor traffic is an admission of its right to exist, which they deny wholly. Their opponents maintain that prohibition cannot be enforced and that high license can, as each of the persons who pay a high tax for the privilege of selling liquor is made an interested party to secure the enforcement of the law and thus to prevent those who avoid the tax from maintaining a ruinous competition with him. The advocates of high license also maintain that prohibition infringes the liberty of the individual, while there is no such objection to high license. There seems to be a tendency at present in both of the chief political parties to quiet the disturbing "temperance" element which has begun to play an important part in politics by passing high license laws. This tendency is hardly likely to accomplish the political results desired, for the prohibitionists, as we have noticed, do not favor it. But the moral objects of the movement may be more successful. Illinois passed a high license law in 1883, and Minnesota and Pennsylvania did likewise in 1887. Nebraska is also trying the plan. High license seems to meet with success where it is in force, but the experiment has not been long enough as yet to warrant a final conclusion. (*See Local Option; Prohibition.*)

High-minded Federalists.—The defeat of the coalition of Clintonians and Federalists in New York State in 1815 practically killed the latter party in that State. What remained of it usually supported the Clintonians. A small section, however, opposed the Clintonians, which they called a personal party, and supported the Bucktails. Their reference to themselves as "high-minded" men led to the above nickname. (*See Clintonians.*)

His Superfluous Excellency.—A title humorously suggested by the Democrats in 1791 for the Vice-President, in mockery of the title desired by some of the Federalists for the President, namely, "His highness, the President of the United States, and protector of their liberties."

Hoar's Mission.—In 1835 South Carolina passed a law providing that any colored person arriving at any of her ports was to be arrested and imprisoned until the vessel was ready to sail. He was then to be restored to the vessel on payment of cost of arrest, subsistence, etc. In 1844 Massachusetts, many of whose colored citizens had been thus detained, resolved to test the constitutionality of the law, and sent Hon. Samuel Hoar to Charleston for the purpose of arranging a test case. Mr. Hoar was but gruffly received, and after a short stay was practically compelled to leave the city. He accomplished nothing.

Home Department.—In the title of the Act of 1849 creating the Department of the Interior, it is called the Home Department. It is, however, never spoken of by that name. (*See Interior, Department of the.*)

Home Valuations.—Under the principle of home valuation merchandise on which ad valorem duties are collected is valued at its market price in this country. Henry Clay's Compromise Bill of 1833 adopted this principle, but the present tariff is based on the principle of foreign valuations, and this has been usually adopted by our tariff laws.

Honest Abe.—An affectionate name by which Lincoln was known.

Honest John Sherman.—An appellation frequently applied to that Ohio Senator.

Hoosiers.—The inhabitants of Indiana. The name is probably derived either from *husher*, a Western term for a bully, or from the "rough exclamation when one knocks at a door, '*who's yere?*'" It is also said to come, however, from a corruption of the word "hussar," a term applied to the light cavalry of European armies. The name was adopted because the hussars were supposed to be noted for deeds of valor.

Horizontal Tariff Bill. (*See Morrison Tariff Bill.*)

Hot Water War.—Soon after the Whisky Rebellion had been overcome a fresh trouble arose from a tax laid by the Federal government on houses, which were

classified according to their dimensions, the size and number of the windows, and so forth. The people objected to these direct taxes, though they bore more lightly on the poor than on the rich, and Pennsylvania was again the scene of the chief resistance. When the officers went to make the necessary measurements, the women deluged them with hot water, and hence the disturbance was known as the Hot Water War. But further violence was offered, and when the United States Marshal in March, 1799, arrested some offenders, they were rescued in the town of Bethlehem by an armed band led by one John Fries. The militia were called out and they succeeded in restoring order. Fries was convicted of treason and sentenced to death, and a number of his followers were condemned to imprisonment. President Adams, however, soon pardoned them all, and two or three years later, under Jefferson, the house tax was abolished.

Holland Purchase, The.—When the territorial disputes between Massachusetts and New York were finally settled, in 1786, the former State ceded all her claims to land west of the Hudson River, except a pre-emption right to about 5,000,000 acres, which included Genesee County and adjacent territory. This land was soon after sold by the State to two New York gentlemen for $1,000,000. These extinguished the Indian title to part of the land, surveyed it into townships, and sold a large share of it to speculators and actual settlers. Robert Morris became later a large purchaser of the land and resold several tracts of it, but finally had to mortgage an immense tract to one Wilhelm Willink, of Amsterdam, and eleven associates, called the Holland Land Company. This company foreclosed the mortgage, secured full title to the land, and opened their first land office in Batavia, New York, in 1801. This foreclosure was the financial ruin of Robert Morris, and caused him to be be thrown into a debtor's prison, where he remained some time. The tract held by these Hollanders was known as "The Holland Purchase."

Homestead Laws.—The treaty of 1783 declared the territory of the United States to extend westward from the Atlantic Ocean to the Mississippi. A large part of this land was claimed by certain of the States, who contended that their original grants gave them the territory inland to the western boundary of the country. But when the confederation was formed it was decided to cede all this territory to Congress, and this was accordingly done. There were numbers of claims on these lands, and Congress created eight Boards of Commissioners to examine into and settle these. But land not claimed was to be disposed of without delay, and Congress in 1785 drew up an ordinance directing the Secretary of War to draw by lot certain townships in the surveyed portion for bounties to the soldiers of the Continental army, and the remainder was to be drawn by lot in the name of the Western States, to be sold by the officers of the Treasury at public sale for not less than $1.00 per acre. This measure, however, was a failure, and it was intimated that the States which had any lands of their own to dispose of took pains to make it inoperative. Meanwhile, settlers began to make entries on public lands without authority, and the Government was obliged to resort to force to drive them off. A company of United States troops was kept going up and down the Ohio River from the Pennsylvania line to Cincinnati from 1784 to 1786, burning all cabins and laying down and burning the fences of these "squatters." Often this operation had to be repeated several times to drive away the determined pioneers. In 1787 the price of public land was reduced to 66⅔ cents per acre, and during the next year the regulation for drawing the land by States was repeated, and the Treasury Department, which then had charge of the sale of public lands, was empowered to sell them in any part of the United States at pleasure. The low price attracted settlers, and large tracts for settlement were purchased by associations of colonists, but the States had also much land for sale, and they eagerly pushed these in the market, underbidding the Government to check western

immigration; and the Spaniards holding land in Illinois offered farms without charge to actual settlers. After the meeting of the first Congress under the Constitution the matter was all referred to Hamilton, who, in July, 1790, submitted to the House of Representatives a plan for the disposal of the public territory. Congress, however, was very slow to act in the matter, and neither adopted Hamilton's plan nor framed any other. In 1796 the present system of surveying lands was in substance adopted, and provision was made for the public sale of lands in sections one mile square at a price not less than $2.00 per acre. In 1800 land officers and land registers were established, and important changes were made in the provisions of the land laws that governed the terms of payment. The lands were to be sold at not less than $2.00 per acre, but only a fourth part of the purchase money was required at the time, and the payment of the balance was to be spread over three years. In case full payment was not made within one year after the last instalment had became due, the lands were to be sold, or to revert to the United States. The natural result of the scheme was the piling up of an enormous debt, which the Government never could collect, and from 1809 to 1824 hardly a year passed without the passage of a "relief act" by Congress to suspend or mitigate the operations of the law in particular instances or to relieve settlers from their indebtedness. In 1820 a law was passed abolishing the credit system and authorizing the selling of land in half-quarter sections, and making the minimum price of $1.25 per acre. This caused great dissatisfaction on the part of the States, since as all lands were at the same minimum price, the best lands were taken up first and large tracts of inferior lands were left, which bore no share, as public lands, of State or local taxation. In 1824, Benton introduced into Congress a bill for granting pre-emption rights to actual settlers and for graduating the price of lands, but it was rejected. The States were now becoming very eager to effect internal improvements, and regarded the existence of large

tracts of public land within their limits as a hindrance, and began to clamor for the restoration of these lands. Schemes without number were now concocted for the disposal of the public lands, and in the session of 1827–28 Congress actually gave away to States and individuals—largely on the plea of internal improvement—no less than 2,300,000 acres of public land, and the suggestion was seriously made to restore all the public lands in the States to the State governments. This was, however, strongly opposed, and many warm debates were carried on in Congress for several years on the public land question. These were in a measure checked by the fever for speculation in public lands which raged from 1834 till it precipitated the crash of 1837, but were renewed with even greater ardor when the proposition came up to have the general government assume the debts of the States which had lost heavily in the speculative era. The plan of giving the public lands to States was again thrust forward, and was advocated by President Tyler in his first message, but though a number of bills were brought before Congress proposing such a distribution none actually became laws, except one providing for a gift of land to new States, which was passed in 1841, as a part of the first pre-emption law. The cession of public lands to railroads on a large scale was begun in 1850, and has since led to the disposal of a very large proportion of the public lands. About 1852 a homestead law, which was warmly advocated by the free soil Democracy, became a national question. Several bills passed one house of Congress, but failed in the other. In 1860 a homestead bill actually passed, but was vetoed by President Buchanan, on the plea that its provisions were not fair to all classes concerned. It was not until 1862 that the homestead law, as we have it to-day, was adopted. The public lands undisposed of and open to settlement are divided into two classes with respect to price, one class being held at $1.25 per acre as the minimum price, the other at $2.50 per acre; being the alternate sections reserved by the United States in land grants to railroads,

etc. Such tracts are sold on application to the registers and receivers of the district land offices to legally qualified parties upon conditions of actual residence and improvement under the pre-emption laws. Widows, heads of families, or single persons over twenty-one years of age, if citizens of the United States, or aliens who have declared their intention to become citizens, have the right of pre-emption to the maximum quantity of 160 acres each on becoming settlers and complying with the regulations. Under the homestead laws a citizen, or an alien having declared his intention of becoming a citizen, has the right to 160 acres of either the $1.25 or $2.50 class after actual residence and cultivation for five years. Under the timber culture law a citizen, or one who has declared his intention to become such, if the head of a family, or a single person over twenty-one years, may acquire title to 160 acres on cultivating 10 acres of trees thereon for eight years. Not more than 320 acres can be acquired by one person under all the land laws. A person who served for 90 days in the army, navy, or marine corps of the United States during the rebellion, has remained loyal to the United States government, and has been honorably discharged, is allowed 160 acres of public land, and such homestead settler shall be allowed six months after locating his homestead, and filing his declaratory statement, within which to make his entry and commence his settlement and improvement. The time the settler has served in the army, navy, or marine corps shall be deducted from the time heretofore required to perfect title; or if discharged on account of wounds received or disability incurred in the line of duty, then the term of enlistment shall be deducted from the time heretofore required to perfect title, without reference to the time he may have served, but *no patent* shall issue to any homestead settler *who has not resided upon*, improved, and cultivated his homestead for a period of at least *one year* after he shall have commenced his improvements. The desert land act applies only to the States of California, Oregon, Nevada, Washington, Idaho,

Montana, Wyoming, and North and South Dakota, and the Territories of Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico. Any person desiring to make entry of desert land in any of these States must file with the officers of the land office for the district wherein the land is situated a declaration showing that he is a citizen, or intends to become a citizen, that he intends to reclaim the tract of land—giving its situation—which he enters; that the land will not produce crops without irrigation; that there is no timber growing upon it, and not to his knowledge any kind of valuable mineral deposited in it. It is necessary also to procure at least two disinterested and credible witnesses to make affidavit that the land is actually desert land. These witnesses must not only bring presumptive proof of their honesty, but must also show that they are acquainted with the situation and character of the land of which they speak. The applicant for the land must then pay for it at the rate of twenty-five cents per acre, and he is not allowed to take up more than one section. If within three years after this application he can make satisfactory proof that he has irrigated the land, the applicant can receive a patent for the land on paying the additional sum of $1 therefore. It is provided that the right to use water from any contiguous natural sources for irrigating desert land thus taken up shall depend upon bona fide prior appropriation, and shall not in any case exceed the amount of water actually needed for reclaiming the land. The only public land that can be sold to parties not actual settlers is that situated in the State of Missouri.

House of Representatives is the name of the lower House of the Legislature in many of the States, also of the corresponding House of the United States Legislature. Article 1, section 2, of the Constitution, treats of the House of Representatives. Its members are apportioned on the basis of population, the larger States thus having greater influence than the smaller. (*See Apportionment; Congress; Senate.*) Its members are elected for two years. The salary of Rep-

resentatives is $5,000 a year, $125 a year additional for stationery and newspapers, and mileage at the rate of twenty cents a mile to and from Washington at every session of Congress, Unexcused absence causes a deduction from the salary. To be elected a Congressman a person must be at least twenty-five years of age, and he must have been seven years a citizen; he must, moreover, at the time of his election be an inhabitant of the State for which he is chosen. The House of Representatives chooses its Speaker and other officers. The power of the Speaker is enormous. Unless otherwise ordered by the House (which is seldom the case) he appoints all committees and the method of the House in transacting its business renders the committees of first importance. All measures are referred to the standing committees, and the power over the life or death of a bill is practically unlimited. A majority of the members elected constitute a quorum. The House has sole power of impeachment; all bills for raising revenue must originate in the House, and on it falls the duty of electing the President of the United States when the vote of the electors fails to result in a choice. Representatives being elected more frequently than Senators, and being elected directly by the people, are apt to be more thoroughly informed of the present feelings of their constituents, and are thus more apt to sway by them than the Senate. The latter is more conservative. These differences have led to the terms popular or lower House, and upper House as applied to the House of Representatives and the Senate respectively. Each Territory has a delegate in the House, with the right to debate on matters pertaining to his Territory, but no vote.

Houston, Samuel, was born in Rockbridge County, Virginia, in 1793. In his early life he had wandered to Tennessee, where he had lived three years among the Cherokee Indians. He was then, successively, "a gallant soldier in the War of 1812, an Indian agent, a lawyer, district attorney, major-general of militia, member of Congress and Governor of Tennessee." About

1830 he again suddenly joined the Cherokees, among whom he lived three years as a chief. Leaving them, he and a number of other adventurers set out for Texas with the intention of causing a revolution there and ultimately annexing it to the United States. Texas declared her independence in 1836, and Houston, though at first compelled to retreat before a large force under Santa Anna, finally succeeded in dividing and utterly defeating the opposing army. This assured the independence of Texas, which was during the next year acknowledged by the United States. Other powers soon did the same. Houston had meanwhile been elected President of the new republic. He served in that capacity in 1836–8 and 1842–4. Texas was annexed to the United States in 1845. Subsequently Houston represented her in the Senate in 1846–59, and in 1859 he was elected Governor. Though elected as a Union man, it was his lack of energy that threw Texas into the hands of the secessionists. In 1861 he resigned, and soon after, in 1863, he died.

How Gold and Silver Coins are Tested.—The testing of gold and silver coins, which takes place yearly at the Philadelphia mint, is called the trial of the pyx. It is a custom of very ancient origin and derives its name from the pyx or chest in which the coins to be examined are kept. The examination is made in the presence of the director of the mint and a board of examiners. For each delivery of coins made by the chief coiner a certain number are reserved for trial and deposited in the pyx under the charge of the superintendent of the mint and the assayer. Coins from the coinage of other mints are transmitted quarterly to the Philadelphia mint. The examiners make a certified report of the trial after examination. If this shows the coins to be within the limit of tolerance in fineness and weight it is filed, but if not the fact is certified to the president, and he has power to order all the officers implicated in the error thenceforward disqualified for holding their offices.

The word pyx is derived from a Greek word meaning a box, and is applied in the Roman Catholic Church to the box in which the sacred host is kept, and mariners also apply it to the receptacle wherein the compass is suspended. In early times the mint master in England was simply a person under contract with the government for the manufacture of the coinage, and periodical examinations were consequently necessary to see that the terms of the contract were complied with. The mint master is now an officer of the crown, but the manner of conducting the ceremony is substantially unchanged. The finished coins are delivered to the mint master in weights called journey-weights—that is, 15 pounds troy weight of gold, containing 701 sovereigns, or 1,402 half-sovereigns; of silver 60 pounds troy. From each journey-weight a coin is taken and placed in the pyx for the annual trial. The examination of the coins is made by the Goldsmiths' Company, under the direction of the crown, in the presence of the "Queen's remembrancer," who administers the oath to the jury and presides over the proceedings. The coins are compared with pieces cut from trial-plates of standard fineness, which are in keeping of the "warden of the standards." If the coins are found to be of standard fineness and weight, within certain limits, a statement to that effect is testified to by the jurors, and handed over to the treasurer. The coins to be tested are kept in the ancient chapel of the pyx at Westminster Abbey, in joint custody of the lords of the Treasury and the comptroller general. This custom was first ordered during the thirty-second year of the reign of King Henry II. (1154-1189), and took place occasionally in subsequent reigns, whenever royalty chose to order it. King James was present at one of the ceremonies in 1611. There was one held at the exchequer office July 17, 1861, and the next February 15, 1870. During the year 1870 a coinage act was passed by Parliament providing for an annual trial of the pyx, and the ceremony has been observed each year since then.

Hub of the Universe.—A name applied to Boston, Massachusets, in derision of its pretensions to great importance.

Hudson's Bay Company.—This company was started in 1670 by means of a charter granted to Prince Rupert and seventeen other noblemen and gentlemen by Charles II. The charter secured to them the absolute proprietorship, subordinate sovereignity, and exclusive traffic of an undefined territory which, under the name of Rupert's Land, comprised all the regions discovered, or to be discovered, within the entrance of Hudson's Strait. In 1821 they obtained a license for the monopoly of trade in the vast regions lying to the west of the original grant. At this time the Hudson's Bay Company and the Northwest Fur Company amalgated, and the monopoly of trade was held conjointly. In 1838 the former company obtained a renewal of the license for themselves alone, which ran until 1859. Since that date the district has been open to all.

Hunkers.—A name applied to the faction of the Democratic party in New York opposed to the Barnburners. They were the conservative wing, and were in harmony with the Democratic national administration. Subsequently they were known as the Hards, or Hard Shells. (*See Free Soil Party.*) The origin of the name Hunkers is uncertain. This name has at various times been applied to the conservative wing of the Democratic party in other States.

I am a Republican, Who Carried His Sovereignty Under His Own Hat—This remark, originally made by A. W. Campbell, of West Virginia, in the Republican national convention of 1880, was quoted with approval by George William Curtis, on June 4, 1884, at the Republican national convention held in Chicago. The occasion was similar, namely the opposition of a motion declaring that every member of the convention was in honor bound to support the candidate it might select, whoever he might be, and that no man who would not agree to give such support was entitled

to hold a seat in the convention. Curtis made a brilliant speech, commencing, "A Republican and a free man I came to this convention, and by the grace of God a Republican and a free man will I go out of it," and the obnoxious motion was withdrawn. "I carry my sovereignty under my hat," has become the watchword of the Independents. Curtis was one of the prominent leaders against Blaine, the Republican candidate, in the campaign of 1884.

I am Not Worth Purchasing; but, such as I am, the King of Great Britain is Not Rich Enough to do It.—This was the reply of General Joseph Reed, a member of the Continental Congress, to an offer of £10,000 and any colonial office in the king's gift, as the price of his influence to restore the colonies to Great Britain. The offer was made through a lady soon after the evacuation of Philadelphia by the British in 1778.

Idaho was acquired by the Louisiana purchase. (*See Annexations I,*) It formed successively a part of Oregon and of Washington Territories. It was separately organized by Act of March 3, 1863, and was admitted to the Union as a State by Act of July 3, 1890. It is entitled to one seat in the House of Representatives and three electoral votes. The population according to the last census (1890) was 84,385. The capital is Boise City. (*See Governors; Legislatures.*)

I do not Feel that I Shall Prove a Dead-head in the Enterprise if I Once Embark in it. I See Various Channels in which I Know I Can be Useful.—These are the closing sentences of James G. Blaine's letter to Warren Fisher, dated June 29, 1869. They came into common use in the presidential campaign of 1884. (*See Mulligan Letters.*)

I'd Rather be Right than be President of the United States.—Henry Clay, though he favored a high tariff, in 1833 introduced a bill reducing the then existing duties. (*See Tariffs of the United States.*) Its object was to pacify the agricultural States, which had objected vehemently. In South Carolina the opposition

had taken a very serious form. (*See Nullification.*) His friends told Clay that his chances for the presidency would be injured thereby. His reply is given above.

If a Crow Wants to Fly Down the Shenandoah, He Must Carry His Provisions With Him.—In 1864, after defeating the Confederate General Early, General Sheriden devastated the valley of the Shenandoah in order to prevent any further movements on Washington from that quarter. So thoroughly was this done that the above remark is said fairly to describe its condition at that time.

If Any One Attempts to Haul Down the American Flag, Shoot Him on the Spot.—In December, 1860, General John A. Dix, Secretary of the Treasury, ordered two revenue cutters from New Orleans to New York. New Orleans was at that time practically in the hands of secessionists, and the captain of one of the cutters refused to obey the order. Dix telegraphed to the lieutenant to place the captain under arrest, and closed his dispatch as above.

I Have Just Given to England a Maritime Rival that Will Sooner or Later Humble Her Pride.—The remark made by Napoleon on the purchase of Louisiana from France.

Illini. (*See American Knights.*)

I'll Try, Sir.—During the battle of Lundy's Lane in the War of 1812, a certain British battery was doing great damage to the Americans. Colonel Miller was asked if he could take it and answered as above. The saying has become historic.

Illuminati.—A Latin word meaning *the enlightened.* It had been used by different sects in Europe at different times. In United States history the name was used to denote certain societies of French sympathizers about the year 1799.

Immigration.—Prior to the year 1820 no official records of the arrival of alien passengers were kept. It is estimated, however, that the total number arrived in the United States from 1775 to the year 1820 was 250,000. It has been estimated that prior to the year 1856

about 98 per cent. of the total aliens arrived were immigrants. The following table shows the number of aliens up to 1859, and the number of immigrants subsequent to that date arriving in the United States between 1824 and 1892:

Year.	Alien Passengers.
1824	7,912
1825	10,199
1826	10,837
1827	18,875
1828	27,382
1829	22,520
1830	23,322
1831	22,633
1832	60,482
1833	58,640
1834	65,365
1835	45,374
1836	76,242
1837	79,340
1838	38,914
1839	68,069
1840	84,066
1841	80,289
1842	104,565
1843	52,496
1844	78,615
1845	114,371
1846	154,416
1847	234,968
1848	226,527
1849	297,024
1850	369,980
1851	279,466
1852	371,603
1853	368,645
1854	427,833
1855	200,877
1856	195,857
1857	246,945
1858	119,501
1859	118,616

Year.	Immigrants.
1860	150,237
1861	89,724
1862	89,007
1863	174,524
1864	193,195
1865	247,453
1866	167,757
Fiscal Year Ending June 30:	
1867	298,967
1868	282,189
1869	352,768
1870	387,203
1871	321,350
1872	404,806
1873	459,803
1874	313,339
1875	227,498
1876	169,986
1877	141,857
1878	138,469
1879	177,826
1880	457,257
1881	669,431
1882	788,992
1883	603,322
1884	518,592
1885	395,346
1886	*334,303
1887	*490,109
1888	546,889
1889	444,427
1890	455,302
1891	560,319
Total	15,814,923

* Immigrants from Canada and Mexico not included.

The nationality of immigrants to the United States for the year ending June 30,1891, was as follows: Germans, 113,554; English, 53,600; Irish, 55,706; Italians 76,055; Swedes, 36,880; Scotch, 12,557; Norwegians, 12,568; Danes, 10,659; Swiss, 6,811; French, 6,766; Europe, not specified, 158,829: total Europe, 543-985; all others, 16,334. Of the whole number of immigrants, 448,403 came through the customs district of New-York, 40,694 through Baltimore, 30,951 through Boston, 26,152 through Philadelphia, and 114,119 through all others.

The reported occupations of immigrants who arrived during the year ending June 30, 1891, were as follows: Laborers, 130,365; farmers, 29,296; servants, 28,625; carpenters, 3,776, miners, 3,745; clerks, 3,653; tailors, 3,879; shoe-makers, 2,232; blacksmiths, 1,792; The total number of professional men was 3,236, of skilled laborers, 44,540; of unskilled and miscellaneous, 211,756. (*See Population of the United States.*)

Illinois.—From the old Indiana Territory (*see Territories*) Michigan Territory was separated in 1805 and Illinois Territory in 1809, the latter including much of the region north of the present limits of the State. Illinois was admitted as a State on December 3, 1818. The capital is Springfield. The population in 1880 was 3,077,871, and in the last census (1890) 3,826,351. Illinois is entitled to twenty seats in the House of Representatives and twenty-two electoral votes. The latter can be relied on by the Republican party. The name is taken from its principal river, which in turn is derived from the Indian tribe of the Illini, supposed to mean "superior men." Popularly the State is called the Prairie, or Sucker, State, and its inhabitants "suckers." (*See Governors; Legislatures.*)

Impeachment is the accusation and prosecution by a legislative body of an officer for mal-administration. The portions of the Constitution relating to impeachment are as follows: Article 1, section 2, clause 5; Article 1, section 3, clauses 6 and 7; Article 2, section 4. The President, Vice-President and all civil officers of the United States are liable to impeachment for treason, bribery or other high crimes and misdemeanors. The House of Representatives has the sole right of impeachment, drawing up the accusation and appointing persons to conduct the prosecution before the Senate. The accused is tried by the Senate, over which, when the President is impeached, the Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court presides. A two-thirds vote of the Senators present is necessary to conviction. Punishment only extends to removal from, and disqualification to hold, office under the United States, but the convicted person is still liable to an ordinary trial according to law. The President has not the power to pardon in cases of impeachment. Impeachments of State officers are pro-

vided for by the Constitutions of the various States. Seven impeachments of federal officers are known to our history. Only two of these resulted in convictions. I.—William Blount was a Senator from Tennessee. Certain papers which President Adams transmitted to Congress in July, 1797, showed that Blount had, while Governor of his State, been engaged in a scheme for transferring by force from Spain to Great Britain the territory on the Lower Mississippi. He was expelled from the Senate. A year later the House presented articles of impeachment, and the trial commenced in December, 1798. One of the points raised by Blount's counsel was that he, as Senator, was not a "civil officer," and consequently not liable to impeachment, and the Senate upheld this plea and acquitted Blount for want of jurisdiction. II.—John Pickering was United States District Judge for the district of New Hampshire. In March, 1803, he was impeached and tried for making unlawful decisions, and for drunkenness and profanity on the bench. By a party vote, the Federalists voting in his favor, he was convicted on March 12th and removed from office. III.—Samuel Chase, of Maryland, was an Associate-Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. In the latter part of 1804 he was impeached for unwarranted actions in several political trials, and for language reflecting on the government. The trial began on January 2, 1805. On some of the articles of impeachment a majority were in his favor; on others a majority were against him. The largest vote for conviction on any one article was nineteen to fifteen. He was therefore acquitted on March 1, 1805, and held his judicial position till his death, about six years later. IV.—James H. Peck was United States District Judge for the district of Missouri. He was impeached for arbitrary conduct in a judicial proceeding. The trial commenced on December 13, 1830, and he was pronounced not guilty, twenty-one voting for conviction and twenty-four for acquittal. V.—West H. Humphreys was United States District Judge for the district of Tennessee. He failed to resign his seat

though engaged on the Confederate side during the Civil War, and was consequently impeached and convicted on June 26, 1862, by a unanimous vote. VI.—Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, had come into sharp conflict with Congress on the questions connected with reconstruction, and the breach between the executive and the national legislature widened till it grew into an impeachment—the only impeachment of a President in our history, and one of the most noted in the world's history. On March 2, 1867, Congress passed what is known as the Tenure of Office Act. (*See Term and Tenure of Office.*) It was vetoed by the President and passed over his veto. Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, was not willing to lend himself to Johnson's schemes of reconstruction. Therefore, on August 12, 1867, the President suspended him and appointed General Grant secretary *ad interim.* When the Senate met, the President laid his reasons for the suspension before it, but that body, in January, refused its sanction, and Stanton therefore resumed his office. On February 21, 1868, Johnson again removed Stanton and appointed in his place General Lorenzo Thomas. Stanton, supported by a resolution of the Senate, refused to vacate his office. The House of Representatives on February 24th adopted a resolution for the impeachment of Johnson by a vote which stood: yeas 126, nays 47, not voting 17; and on the 25th a committee of the House appeared before the Senate and impeached the President. The House appointed to conduct the prosecution, John A. Bingham, of Ohio; George S. Boutwell and Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts; James F. Wilson, of Iowa; Thomas Williams and Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, and John A. Logan, of Illinois. The President was represented by the following counsel: Henry Stanbery and W. S. Groesbeck, of Ohio; William M. Evarts, of New York; Thomas A. R. Nelson, of Tennessee, and Benjamin R. Curtis, of Massachusetts. The articles of impeachment, eleven in number, were presented to the Senate on March 5th. In brief, they charged that the President, in violation

of the Tenure of Office Act, had removed Stanton and appointed Thomas; that he had been guilty of intimidation of the former and of an attempt to seize unlawfully the property and money of the War Department; that he had declared that the Thirty-ninth Congress was not a legally constituted body; and that he had failed to properly execute its acts. The counsel for the President replied that the removal of Stanton and the appointment of Thomas did not come within the provisions of the Tenure of Office Act, but were legal according to the laws of 1789 and 1795, which were the only controlling ones in this case; that he was not guilty of the other charges, except those in regard to his declarations concerning Congress, and that as to those he was protected by the rights of freedom of opinion and freedom of speech. The Senate was organized as a court for the trial of the President on March 5th, Chief-Justice Salmon P. Chase, presiding. After various preliminaries, the taking of evidence commenced on March 30th. This was finished by April 20th, and by May 6th the counsel had finished their arguments. On May 16th a vote was taken on the article which concerned Johnson's declaration as to the constitutionality of the Thirty-ninth Congress and his desire to prevent the enforcement of its acts. The vote lacked one of a sufficient number to convict. It stood thirty-five for conviction and nineteen for acquittal, seven Republicans voting in the minority with the twelve Democratic members of the Senate. On May 26th a vote was taken on the articles involving the legality of Thomas' appointment with the same result. No vote was taken on the other articles, the court adjourned *sine die,* and by direction of Chief-Justice Chase a verdict of acquittal was entered. VII.—William W. Belknap in 1876 was Secretary of War under Grant. On the 2d of March, 1876, the House unanimously voted to impeach Belknap for having received at different times $24,450 for appointing and retaining in office a post-trader at Fort Sill, Indian Territory. A few hours before this resolution was passed Belknap had resigned his office

and Grant accepted the resignation. On April 4th the articles of impeachment were presented to the Senate. Belknap claimed that being no longer a civil officer of the United States he was not liable to impeachment. During May the Senate debated this question, and finally by a vote of thirty-seven to twenty-nine, declared that it had jurisdiction notwithstanding the resignation. During July the trial proceeded, and on August 1st a vote was taken. On three of the articles the vote stood thirty-six to twenty-five for conviction, on another thirty-five to twenty-five for conviction, and on another thirty-seven to twenty-five for conviction, the minority holding that Belknap, being out of office, was not liable on impeachment proceedings. As the necessary two-thirds vote was not obtained, Belknap was acquitted.

Imports. (*See Exports and Imports.*)

Impressment. (*See War of* 1812.)

Incidental Protection. (*See Tariffs of the United States.*)

Income Tax.—An income tax has been levied by the United States Government but once in its history, and then it was established because of the necessity for revenue caused by the Civil War. An act passed in 1861 created a tax of three per cent. on incomes of $800 per annum and over. The rates of taxation, the amounts of the incomes taxed, and the proportion of the income exempt from taxation, were changed by various acts till in 1872 it was abolished. The amounts collected by this tax are given in the following table:

1863	$ 2,741,858	1868	$41,455,598
1864	20,294,732	1869	34,791,856
1865	32,050,017	1870	37,775,874
1866	72,982,159	1871	19,162,651
1867	66,014,429	1872	14,436,862

Some arrears have since been collected, making the total derived from the income tax $346,911,760.48. (*See Internal Revenue.*)

Independents.—This name is applied in politics to voters whose party fealty is not so strong as to bind them to the support of the nominee of their party if they dis-

approve of him personally, or to members of a legislative body acting separately from parties either because chosen so to do or chosen on a fusion ticket. The latest instance was the movement caused by the nomination in 1884 of Blaine by the Republicans in causing the defection of a large body of Independents whose action in the State of New York probably decided the contest. (*See Pivotal State.*) The leaders in this revolt were George W. Curtis, Carl Schurz and others.

Independence Now and Independence Forever. (*See Sink or Swim, etc.*)

Independent Party.—The formal name of the Greenback-Labor party in 1876. The nominees of the party in that year were Peter Cooper and Samuel F. Cary.

Independent Treasury. (*See Sub-Treasury System.*)

Indiana.—In 1800 the Northwest Territory (*see Territories*) was divided, Ohio being separated and the remainder being called Indiana Territory; from this in 1805 Michigan Territory was cut off, and in 1809 Illinois Territory; what remained was admitted as a State to the Union December 11, 1816. The capital is Indianapolis. The population in 1880 was 1,978,301, and in the last census (1890) 2,192,404. Indiana has thirteen Congressmen and fifteen electoral votes. In national politics the State cannot be considered sure for either party, though it is generally Republican. Since 1860 it has been Republican, except in 1876 and 1884 when it was Democratic, owing probably to the name of one of its popular citizens, Hendricks, on that ticket. The name of the State was formed from the word "Indian"; popularly its name is the Hoosier State and the inhabitants are called Hoosiers. (*See Hoosiers; Governors; Legislatures.*)

Indiana Territory. (*See Territories.*)

Indian Territory.—The larger part of this region was acquired by the Louisana purchase. (*See Annexations I.*) It is an unorganized territory of the United States, set aside for Indian tribes and public lands by act of June 30, 1834, but its extent has been diminished

from time to time. The population in 1880 was estimated at 70,000. (*See Oklahoma Boomers; Cimarron.*)

Indian Wars.—From the earliest years of our history difficulties have been constantly occurring with the Indians within our borders. Only one of these has had any special political significance, and but a brief reference to some of the principal Indian wars will be attempted. From 1790 to 1795 a war was waged with the Miami Confederacy in Ohio and neighboring territory. Generals Harmar and St. Clair met with reverses, but General Wayne crushed the outbreak in 1793. The Indians of the West formed a conspiracy some years later under Tecumseh and Elkswatama the Prophet, renewed hostilities, and were defeated in 1811 at Tippecanoe by General Harrison. During the war of 1812 the Northern Indians joined their forces with the British and gave us much trouble; they, together with the British, were defeated at the River Thames in 1813 by Harrison, and Tecumseh was killed. In the same year and the next General Andrew Jackson conducted operations against the Creeks in the South, who were brought to terms by victories at Tallushatchie, Talladega and the Horse Shoe Bend of the Tallapoosa River. In 1817 the Seminoles in Georgia and Alabama showed signs of hostility. General Jackson subdued them in the spring of the next year. In carrying out his campaign, thinking the Spaniards had encouraged the Indians, Jackson entered Florida, then a Spanish possession, and captured St. Marks. He seized two Englishmen, Arbuthnot and Ambrister, who were tried by court-martial on a charge of inciting the Indians, found guilty and executed. He then took possession of Pensacola and captured Fort Barrancas on the shore of the bay after a slight resistance. The execution of two British subjects raised such a storm of indignation in England that another war was threatened, but the English ministry admitted the justice of the act. Jackson's enemies endeavored to have Congress pass a vote of censure, but that body and the President supported him. Spain also complained of his proceeding, but without effect. (*See Annexations II.*) In

1831 and 1832 the Sacs, Foxes and Winnebagoes, led by Black Hawk, refused to leave lands which they had ceded to the government, but the Black Hawk War, as the resulting disturbance is called, was soon ended and the leader captured. In 1836 and 1837 there were minor disturbances in the South with the Creeks and Chicopees, connected with their removal west of the Mississippi. From 1835 to 1843 the Seminoles in Florida, led by Osceola, were in arms, refusing to remove to Western reservations. In December, 1835, Major Dade with a force of over a hundred men fell into an ambush and all but four of the command perished. Various battles were fought, but the Indians prolonged the war among the swamps of Florida for seven years. Colonel Zachary Taylor was among the leaders of our troops. Finally, after the expenditure of many men and much money the persistent Indians were removed to the West. In 1872 the Modoc Indians in Oregon refused to go upon a designated reservation. They retreated before the troops to a volcanic region known as the lava-beds and could not be conquered. A peace conference held with them in April, 1873, was broken up by their treacherous murder of General Canby and Dr. Thomas. About the first of June, however, General Davis forced them to surrender; Captain Jack, their leader, and others were executed. In 1876 the Sioux Indians gave trouble in the Black Hills region on the borders of Montana and Wyoming. A large force of regulars was sent against them under Generals Terry, Crook, Custer and Reno. On June 25, 1876, the two latter attacked at different points a large Indian village situated on the Little Horn River. General Custer was killed with 261 men of the Seventh Cavalry and 52 were wounded. Reno held his ground till saved by reënforcements. Additional troops were sent to the spot and the Indians were defeated in several engagements, and in the beginning of 1877 the Indian chief, Sitting Bull, escaped to Canada. In 1877 trouble with the Nez Percé Indians of Idaho, led by their chief Joseph, came to a head. General Howard was sent against them, they were soon hemmed in, and in October

were completely defeated by Colonel Miles. In 1879 an outbreak of the Ute Indians cost the lives of the government agent Major Thornburgh and a number of soldiers before it was quelled.

Ingalls, John James, was born in Middleton, Massachusetts, December 29, 1833. He is a graduate of Williams College and a lawyer by profession. In 1858 he moved to Kansas, holding several territorial offices. In 1873, he entered the United States Senate and was constantly re-elected until 1891 when he was defeated by the Farmers Alliance candidate. He was President *pro tempore* of the Senate from 1887 to 1891.

Innocuous Desuetude.—March 1, 1886, President Cleveland sent a special message to the Senate on the subject of removals from office. In it he used the above words in referring to certain laws which had become dead letters.

Insolvent Laws. (*See Bankruptcy.*)

Insurrection.—The Constitution, Article 1, section 8, clause 15, gives Congress the power to call forth the militia to suppress insurrections. Acts were passed in 1792, 1795 and 1807, giving the President power to call forth the militia when notified by an associate justice of the Supreme Court or a district judge that the execution of the laws is obstructed, and on application of a legislature or a governor, when the legislature could not be convened, and to employ also the land and naval forces of the United States. The Whisky Insurrection was directed against the federal authority, and the President employed force to suppress it on notification by the federal judge. During the Buckshot War the Governor of Pennsylvania asked for assistance, but it was refused. The Governor of Rhode Island made a similar application during the Dorr Rebellion and the regulars were held ready for action, but their aid proved unnecessary. These last two cases came under Article 4, section 4, of the Constitution, which provides that "that the United States shall protect" each State "on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence." When

the Civil War broke out, the President was obliged to take prompt steps in calling out the militia, though no application had been made to him as required by the acts of 1792 and 1795. His action was justified by Article 2, section 3, of the Constitution, providing that "he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed," but Congress on August 6, 1861, formally validated and made legal all Lincoln's previous acts, proclamations and orders. The Force Bill of April 20, 1871, gave the President power to call forth the militia and to employ the forces of the United States to suppress disorders intended to deprive any portion of the people of their constitutional rights, even if the State authorities should be unwilling to restore order. During the reconstruction period federal troops were called for in all the States that had seceded, except Georgia and Florida, to preserve the peace, which had been disturbed by attempts to overthrow the newly established Republican administrations in those States. During the railroad strikes in 1877 federal troops were employed with good effect in Pennsylvania and in Baltimore.

Interior, Department of the.—One of the executive departments of the government, established in 1849 and called Home Department in the title of the act creating it. To it was assigned the charge of patents, copyrights, censuses, public documents, public lands, mines and mining, judicial accounts, Indian affairs and pensions. To these were subsequently added railroads, public surveys, territories, Pacific railways and the charge of certain charitable institutions of the District of Columbia. The Secretary of the Interior is at the head of the department; his principal subordinates and their salaries are given below:

	SALARY
Assistant Secretary	$4,500
Assistant Secretary	4,000
Chief Clerk	2,750
Commissioner of Patents	5,000
Commissioner of Pensions	5,000
Commissioner of Land Office	4,000
Commissioner of Indian Affairs	4,000
Commissioner of Railroads	4,500
Commissioner of Education	3,000
Commissioner of Labor	5,000
Director Geological Survey	6,000
Chief Census Division	6,000

The Secretary receives a salary of $8,000; he is appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, and is (by custom, not by law) a member of the President's Cabinet. A list of the Secretaries of the Interior is appended:

Thomas Ewing, Ohio	1849–1850
James A. Pearce, Maryland	1850–1850
Thomas M. T. McKennon, Pennsylvania	1850–1850
Alexander H. H. Stuart, Virginia	1850–1853
Robert McClelland, Michigan	1853–1857
Jacob Thompson, Mississippi	1857–1861
Caleb B. Smith, Indiana	1861–1863
John P. Usher, Indiana, Jan. 8, 1863, and re-appointed March, 4 and April 15, 1865	1863–1865
James Harlan, Iowa	1865–1866
O. H. Browning, Illinois	1866–1869
Jacob D. Cox, Ohio	1869–1870
Columbus Delano, Ohio, 1870, and re-appointed March 4, 1873	1873–1875
Zachariah Chandler, Michigan	1875–1877
Carl Schurz, Missouri	1877–1881
Samuel J. Kirkwood, Iowa	1881–1882
Henry M. Teller, Colorado	1882–1885
L. Q. C. Lamar, Mississippi	1885–1887
William F. Vilas, Wisconsin	1887–1889
John W. Noble, Missouri	1889–

Interior, Secretary of the. (*See Interior, Department of the.*)

Internal Improvements.—From the beginning of this government until the year 1860 the question of a system of internal improvements carried on by the general government was a party question. The Republican (Democratic-Republican), and after it the Democratic party as the party of strict construction, opposed such a system. Improvements, the property in which remains in the general government, as light-houses and the like, were not opposed, but improvements on rivers and roads, the benefits of which passes to the States, were the objects of attack. Most of the earlier States were on the sea-coast, and the improvement of their harbors was at first carried on by means of tonnage taxes on the commerce of the port, levied with the consent of Congress (see Constitution, Article 1, section 10, clause 3). But a tax on tonnage is a tax on the consumer of the goods carried in the vessel, and the growth of inland States rendered

it unjust thus indirectly to tax them in the price of articles consumed in order to improve the harbors of the sea-coast States, and although this practice was in isolated cases continued until the middle of the century, it was generally discontinued much earlier. As early as 1806 the improvement of roads by the National government was conceived in order to indemnify the interior States (*see Cumberland Road*), and in 1823 the improvement by the National government directly of rivers and harbors was begun. The Republican (Democratic-Republican) Presidents, Jefferson, Madison and Monroe, opposed these improvements as unconstitutional, although toward the end of his term Monroe became more favorable to the system. John Quincy Adams was a warm advocate thereof and Jackson its stern opponent. Although the Democrats opposed any general system of improvements they continued to apply funds to particular purposes. The Whigs now adopted the system originated by the Democrat Jackson, namely, the distribution of the surplus among the States. (*See Surplus.*) But once did the Whigs attempt to put this into execution, and then in 1841 the veto of President Tyler, at odds with his party in Congress, put an end to that scheme, which has not since been revived. The introduction of railroads has done away with the question of improvements for roads, while a system of assistance to the railroads by means of the grant of land along the line of their route has sprung up. These grants have been made to many railroads in new sections of the country; enormous tracts, in several cases between forty and fifty million acres being so granted. From this policy a revulsion has now set in, and the present tendency is to the recovery of as much of the land so granted as has not been earned by a strict compliance with the terms of the grant. To this both of the great political parties stand committed. (*See Party Platforms.*) The aid rendered the Pacific railroads is referred to under that head. In 1860 both parties favored the completion of this work by the government. (*See also River and Harbor Bills.*)

Internal Revenue.—The moneys collected under the internal revenue bureau in the Treasury Department are called the internal revenue of the United States. The term includes most of the receipts from national taxes except customs duties, but as commonly restricted it does not embrace receipts from the sale of public lands, patent fees, postal receipts, and the like, which are really sources of internal revenue. Under Article 1, section 8, clause 1, of the Constitution, Congress has power "to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises . . . but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States." Section 9, clause 4, of the same article, provides that direct taxes shall be apportioned among the States only in proportion to the population. The first internal revenue tax imposed by Congress was by the Act of March 3, 1791, which provided for a tax on distilled spirits of domestic manufacture, discriminating in favor of those produced from domestic materials and against those produced from foreign materials. The enforcement of this tax led to the Whisky Insurrection (*which see*). In 1794 taxes were levied on carriages, retail selling of wines and foreign distilled liquors, on snuff, sugar and sales at auction. In 1797 taxes were laid on stamped vellum, parchment and paper. In 1798 the first direct tax of its kind, one of $2,000,000, was apportioned among the States, and it was proposed that it should be levied on dwelling-houses, slaves and land. The tax of 1791 was levied to establish the principle of national taxation; that of 1794 from fear of hostilities with England; that of 1798 because of the threatened war with France. On Jefferson's accession to the presidency, and on his recommendation, all internal taxes were repealed in 1802, and no others were authorized till 1813. Then the war with England necessitated an increased revenue, and most of the old taxes were re-imposed. These were to cease a year after the close of the war, for the maintenance of which they were levied, but they were afterward continued for a while for the payment of the national debt. In 1814 increased need of money led to

an augmentation in the amount of these direct and other internal taxes, and to the first imposition of taxes on other domestic manufactures than sugar, snuff and spirits, such as iron, candles, hats, playing-cards, umbrellas, beer, ale, harness, boots, plate, household furniture, gold and silver watches, etc. The return of peace brought the abolition of direct taxes, excise duties and other internal taxes, and from 1818 to 1861 none of these were levied. The Civil War forced a renewal of the internal revenue system, and in 1861 a direct tax of $20,000,000 was apportioned among the States, though it was not collected till a year later. On July 1, 1862, an exhaustive internal revenue act was passed, levying taxes on all sorts and kinds of articles too numerous to mention, on trades, incomes, sales, manufactures, legacies, etc. The bill was ill-considered and needed frequent modifications. More than twenty-five acts on the same subject were passed within the next six years. A few industries were taxed out of existence, but all were more or less disturbed. However, enormous revenues were raised and the people submitted without opposition to the necessities of the case. Extensive reductions were made after the war had ceased, by various acts in 1866, 1867 and 1868. Further reductions were made in 1872, when, among others, stamp taxes, except that of two cents on checks, drafts and orders, were abolished. Various acts since 1872 have reduced the subjects of internal revenue taxation to their present numbers, tobacco, spirits, fermented liquors, bank circulation and, by Act of August 2, 1886, oleomargarine.

The total amount derived from internal revenue from 1865 to 1891 inclusive, including commissions allowed on sales of adhesive stamps, was $3,965,454,451.

International Expositions.—The idea of an exhibition of the industries of all nations is said to have been suggested by Mr. Whishaw, secretary of the Society of Arts, London, in 1844. The first direct movement in favor of it, however, was made by Prince Albert, the husband of Queen Victoria. He was president of the Society of Arts, and June 30, 1849, called a meeting of the society at Buckingham Palace, and proposed that it should take the initiative in getting up an industrial fair, to which all the countries of the world should be invited to contribute. The society at once took up the idea and used all the means in their power to promote it. Early in 1850 they appointed a formal commission, with Prince Albert at its head, to promote the scheme. A few days later a meeting was held at the Mansion House, London, to raise funds, and £10,000 were at once subscribed. In a short time a guarantee fund of £200,000 was obtained and the project was fairly begun. The first nation to follow the brilliant example of Great Britain was, of course, the United States, and the second "Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations" was opened at New York, July 14, 1853. It was held like that of Great Britain in a crystal palace, a building constructed entirely of glass and iron, and built expressly for it. The preparation and management of this exhibition were undertaken by a stock company. The exhibition on this occasion was probably even more complete and magnificent than that of Great Britain, for the idea had gained in favor now with all nations, and no civilized country failed to send samples of its best work in art and manufacture. This fair was open four months. Since then international exhibitions have been held in all the principal cities of Europe, and in this country the Centennial Exposition held at Philadelphia in 1876 demonstrated the popularity of these exhibitions.

International Law consists of rules for the conduct of different nations and their subjects with respect to each other, which rules are deducted from reason, justice

and the nature of governments. In the ancient world one nation had few rights which another was bound to respect. International law in anything like a systematic shape is a modern product, and the general recognition of it is yet more recent. Many of its important principles are still in the stage of development, though minor questions, such as the treatment of embassadors, have long been settled. Treaties, declarations of war and international documents and discussions generally, together with the works of great writers, constitute the body of international law. It may be divided into three departments: first, principles regulating the conduct of states to each other; second, principles regulating the rights and obligations of individuals arising out of international relations; third, principles regulating the conduct of individuals as affected by the internal laws of other nations. International law differs from the internal law of States in this, that there is no final authority to compel its observance or punish its breach; yet public opinion and combinations of other nations are a potent check on the one that would disregard its obligations. During the last generation much has been done to secure recognition from civilized nations of certain general rules governing their actions toward each other, such as the rights of neutrals and the question of blockades, and long steps have been taken toward the substitution of arbitration in place of war in the settlement of international disputes.

Inter-State Commerce Act, The, was passed by the Senate January 14, 1887, by a vote of 45 to 15, and by the House on January 21, 1887, by a vote of 178 to 41; it was approved by President Cleveland February 4, 1887. The act provides for the appointment of an Inter-State Commerce Commission, consisting of five members. These shall not be connected in any way with common carriers subject to the provisions of the act, nor are they to engage in other business; not more than three are to be of the same political party; they are appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, the first members for the terms of two, three, four, five and six years

respectively, and their successors for the terms of six years each; they each receive a salary of $7,500 per annum. The act applies to common carriers conveying merchandise or passengers between one State, Territory or the District of Columbia, to another one of those divisions. Unjust and unreasonable charges and unjust discrimination are prohibited; the latter is defined to be the demanding from one person of greater compensation than is asked from another for a like service. It is made unlawful to give undue advantage to one person, locality or kind of traffic over another, or to discriminate between connecting lines. The "long and short haul clause" provides that the rate for a short haul shall not equal nor exceed the rate for a long haul under like conditions, except as the Commission may provide or may relieve from the operations of this section. Freights cannot be pooled with connecting lines; schedules of rates, which must be conformed to, are to be made public, and ten days notice of any advance must be given. Combinations to prevent continuous carriage are prohibited. Persons suffering by reason of violations of the act may secure damages in the United States Courts, or they may complain to the Commission, who have power to compel the attendance of persons and the production of papers, and who shall investigate and order reparation or the ceasing of the violation of the act, and the circuit courts of the United States are given power to enforce these orders, subject to an appeal to the Supreme Court in certain instances. Each willful violation of the act is a misdemeanor punishable by a fine not exceeding $5,000. Common carriers subject to the act are to submit annual reports to the commission; the commission is to make a yearly report to the Secretary of the Interior who shall transmit the same to Congress. Certain exceptions are made in the operation of the act; reduced rates may be granted on property for governmental and charitable purposes, for purposes of exhibitions and fairs, reduced rates may be made for excursion tickets, etc., and for ministers, and passes may be given to officers or employes of railroads. The commission is at present

constituted as follows: Jas. W. McGill, of Iowa, chairman; William R. Morrison, of Illinois, Augustus Schoonmaker, of New York, Alfred C. Chapin, of New York, and Wheelock G. Veazey, of Vermont.

Inter-State Extradition. (*See Extradition.*)

In the Line of Succession.—Thomas Jefferson was Secretary of State under Washington; James Madison held the office under Jefferson; James Monroe under Madison; John Quincy Adams under Monroe. Each one of these secretaries had subsequently become President, in every case, except that of Jefferson, immediately after the President under whom he served in that capacity. Henry Clay was Secretary of State under John Quincy Adams, and when in 1832 he ran for the presidency against Andrew Jackson, he was therefore said to be in the lineof succession.

In the Name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress.—In May, 1775, Ethan Allen surprised Fort Ticonderoga, then in the hands of the British. To Allen's demand for surrender the commander replied, "By whose authority?" to which Allen answered: "In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress."

Invisible Empire.—A name by which the Ku-Klux Klan was sometimes known.

Iowa.—This State originally constituted part of the region acquired by the Louisiana purchase. (*See Annexations I.*) It formed at one time part of the Territory of Missouri. (*See Territories.*) After the admission of Missouri to the Union, Iowa was neglected till 1834 when it was placed under the jurisdiction of Michigan; in 1836 it was transferred to Wisconsin, and in 1838 was erected into the separate Territory of Iowa; it was admitted as a State December 28, 1846. The capital is Des Moines. The population in 1880 was 1,624,615, and inthe last census (1890) 1,911,896. Iowa is entitled to eleven Congressmen and thirteen electoral votes; it is Republican in politics. Its name is derived from its principal river, which in the Indian tongue is variously stated to mean "the beautiful land," "the sleepy ones,"

and "this is the place;" popularly it is called the Hawk-eye State. (*See Governors; Legislatures.*)

I Propose to Fight it out on this Line, if it Takes all Summer.—This sentence was contained in the dispatch of General Grant to the Secretary of War after the battle of Spottsylvania, May, 1864.

Irish Vote. (*See German Vote.*)

Iron-clad Oath of Office.—A popular name for the oath of office prescribed July 2, 1862, in which the person not only promises to defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign or domestic, but also swears that he has never given aid or encouragement to its enemies, or accepted office under any government hostile to the United States.

Irrepressible Conflict.—The conflict beetween freedom and slavery was referred to by William H. Seward in a speech delivered October 25, 1858. He declared that "it is an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces."

I Was Born an American, I Live an American, I Shall Die an American.—This sentence is from a speech of Daniel Webster, delivered July 17, 1850.

Jackson, Andrew, was born at Waxhaw Settlement, North Carolina, March 15, 1767, and died at "The Hermitage," his residence near Nashville, Tennessee, January 8, 1845. As a boy he fought in the Revolutionary army. He then studied law and was admitted to the bar. His early education had been neglected, nor was this shortcoming ever thoroughly repaired. He served in the House of Representatives from 1796 to 1797, and in the Senate from 1797 to 1798. He had made a name for himself in Tennessee as prosecuting attorney. He had won military glory in fights with the Indians, and his services in the Creek War increased his reputation. He was made a Major-General, and in 1815 won the battle of New Orleans against the British. From 1823 to 1825 he again served as Senator, and in 1824 was defeated for the presidency by John Quincy Adams. In the next presidential contest he defeated

Adams. As President he served two terms, from 1829 to 1837. The principal events of his administration were Indian wars, controversies about the United States Bank, nullification troubles, tariff agitation and changes, and the removals from office effected by him. At the end of his second term he retired to private life at "The Hermitage." Jackson was a Democrat. (*See Democratic-Republican Party.*) From his time dates a new departure in the politics of this country, namely, the principle of rotation in office for the subordinate employes of the government and the distribution of the offices to political retainers as spoils of the campaign. In character Jackson was stern, bluff, uncompromising and most determined. It was due to his energy that the nullification troubles were so promptly quelled, and this same trait was well shown in the persistence of his fight against the United States Bank. His comment on a decision by the Supreme Court in the Cherokee Case is indicative of the man. He said: "Well, John Marshall has made his decision. Now let him enforce it." (*See Cherokee Case.*)

Jackson Men.—A name assumed by the followers of Andrew Jackson about 1828 to distinguish them from the followers of John Quincy Adams and Henry Clay. These latter, called at first Adams and Clay Republicans, came to be known as National Republicans, and they were one of the elements that subsequently formed the Whig party, while the Jackson men soon came to be known as Democrats merely. Jackson men were known also as Jackson Republicans. (*See Democratic-Republican Party; National Republican Party; Whig Party.*)

Jack the Giant-Killer.—A nickname applied to John Randolph, of Virginia, because in debate he compared himself to David and his opponent to Goliah.

Jay, John, was born in New York City, December 23, 1745, and died at Bedford, New York, May 17, 1829. He was a graduate of Columbia and a lawyer by profession. He took part in the formation of a State Constitution in 1776, and served in the Continental

Congress from 1774 to 1777 and in 1778 and 1779, during the latter years as its president. He was also Chief-Justice of his State. In 1779 he became Minister to Spain, and in 1783 was one of the negotiators of the Treaty of Paris. He then became Secretary of Foreign Affairs until 1789, when he was appointed Chief-Justice of the United States. He was next engaged in the negotiation of the treaty that became known as Jay's Treaty (*which see*). From 1795 to 1801 he was Governor of New York State. He then retired to private life.

Jay's Treaty.—The treaty of 1783, which closed the Revolution, provided that the British should evacuate all forts within the territory of the United States. England's delay in fulfilling this stipulation, her authorization to privateers to seize neutral vessels trading in the French West Indies, and the rights of search and impressment which she claimed, led President Washington in the early part of 1794 to appoint Chief-Justice John Jay minister extraordinary to Great Britain for the purpose of negotiating a treaty. The result of Jay's efforts was submitted to the Senate for ratification in June, 1795, and soon received the sanction of that body and was completed by Washington's signature. It provided for a speedy evacuation of the forts on what were then our northern and northwestern frontiers, arranged for compensation for illegal seizures, and regulated commercial questions to some extent, but it recognized by implication the right of search and was not wholly satisfactory in other points. The question of its endorsement by the government led to a bitter discussion, during which copies of the treaty and effigies of Jay were publicly burned and the most outrageous charges were made against Washington "in terms," as he said, "so exaggerated and indecent as could scarcely be applied to a Nero, a notorious defaulter, or even to a common pickpocket." The President, nevertheless, believing the treaty on the whole to be the best that could be obtained, lent the weight of his influence in its favor, and the House of Representatives in April, 1796, by a vote of 51 to 48

finally decided to carry it into effect. The discussion in the House gave occasion to Fisher Ames, of Massachusetts, for a remarkable speech in defense of the treaty.

Jefferson Democrats. (*See Clintonian Democrats.*)

Jeffersonian Democrat.—Democrats delight in applying this designation to any public man of their party whose simplicity, directness, sympathy with the people and views on public economy meet their approbation.

Jeffersonian Simplicity.—Thomas Jefferson intensely disliked all display. He objected even to the title of *Mister;* he refused to wear knee-breeches and wore pantaloons; he abolished the presidential levees, and in going to the Capitol to his inauguration he rode on horseback alone. The Democratic party, deriving as it does, many of its principles from Jefferson, has always affected to follow him in the matter of simplicity.

Jefferson, Thomas, was born at Shadwell, Virginia, April 2, 1743; he died on the same day with John Adams, July 4, 1826, at Monticello, Virginia. He graduated at William and Mary College and became a member of the bar. He was a member of the House of Burgesses from 1769 to 1774; between 1775 and 1778 he was a member of the Continental Congress; it was he that wrote the Declaration of Independence (but few changes were made in his draft of that document). In 1779 he became Governor of Virginia, and retained the post until 1781. He represented this country abroad first generally and then in France. He became Secretary of State under Washington, and represented in the latter's Cabinet those principles of strict construction that formed at least the theoretical basis of the party founded by him, the Democratic-Republican. Elected Vice-President under Adams in 1797, he was elected in 1801 to succeed the latter, and served as President two terms. The principal events of his administration were the purchase of Louisiana (by far the most important) (*see Annexations I.*), the war with the Barbary pirates, and the embargo. At the end of his second term he retired to his home at Monticello where he passed the remainder of his life. He was the founder of the Demo-

cratic-Republican party, a party that has existed to the present day. Though of aristocratic birth his sympathies were intensely popular; he hated display and pomp and carried his love of simplicity to the extreme of objecting even to so harmless a title as *Mister*. His influence on the government has been to check the tendency to extreme centralization which, if developed, might have led to a nation too unpliable and unwieldy for long life, and has made it the admirable combination of pliability and resistance that it is. (*See State Sovereignty; Kentucky Resolutions of* 1798.)

Jingoism.—This word arose in British politics. During the war between Russia and Turkey, English sympathy was most strongly with Turkey and hostile to Russia. A song became popular the refrain of which was:

> "We don't want to fight, but, by Jingo, if we do—
> We've got the ships, we've got the men, we've got the money, too."

From this arose the name jingoism as applied to the war feeling against Russia. The term has, however, come to mean in politics, any advocacy of national bluster. It is sometimes used in this country.

Johnny Reb was a name by which the Union soldiers during the Civil War familiarly called the Confederates. Reb is of course an abbreviation for rebel.

Johnson, Andrew, was born at Raleigh, North Carolina, December 29, 1808, and died in Carter County, Tennessee, July 31, 1875. He was mayor of Greenville, Tennessee; member of the State Legislature in 1835 and State Senate in 1841; Congressman from Tennessee from 1843 to 1853. He was at this time a Democrat. From 1853 to 1857 he was Governor of Tennessee, and United States Senator from 1857 to 1862. In 1862 he was appointed Military Governor of Tennessee, and in 1864 the Republicans nominated him as Vice-President. On Lincoln's assassination he became President. He began almost at once to quarrel with Congress, and his impeachment marked the culmination of that conflict. (*See Impeachments.*) The most important matter during his administration was Reconstruction (*which see*).

Johnson's early education had been neglected to such an extent that it was only after his marriage that he learned to read and write. He was persistent and determined, but blind to the political signs of the times. In 1875 he was elected United States Senator, but served only at the extra session, dying in July.

Johnson, Reverdy, was born at Annapolis, Maryland, May 21, 1796, and died at the same place February 10, 1876. He was a lawyer. He served as Senator from 1845 to 1849, and as Attorney-General under Taylor; during this time he was a Whig. From 1863 to 1868 he was again Senator, this time as a Democrat, and in 1869 he was Minister to Great Britain.

Johnson, Richard Mentor, was born at Bryant's Station, Kentucky, October 17, 1781; he died November 19, 1850. He served in the War of 1812. He was a Democrat, and as such served in Congress from 1807 to 1819; from 1820 to 1829 he was in the Senate, and from 1829 to 1839 again in the House. He was the Democratic vice-presidential candidate in 1840.

Judge Lynch.—A popular name for a body of persons who take the law into their own hands in punishing criminals or those suspected of being such. (*See Lynch Law.*)

Judiciary.—1. NATIONAL. The third Article of the Constitution provides for the establishment of United States courts to have jurisdiction both in law and in equity. This jurisdiction is in general distinct from, but is sometimes concurrent with, that of the State courts. The system which Congress adopted at its first session remains unaltered in its essentials to the present time, except for the addition of the Court of Claims in 1855. The judges are nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate. They retain office during good behavior. The judicial power of the United States is vested in a Supreme Court, nine Circuit Courts and sixty-one District Courts, besides the Court of Claims. The Supreme Court has original jurisdiction only of "cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall

be a party;" that is, only such cases can be commenced therein, but cases decided in the other federal courts, under certain prescribed conditions, can be reviewed by the Supreme Court by virtue of its appellate jurisdiction. The limits of the original jurisdictions of the District and Circuit Courts, and the appellate jurisdiction of the latter over the former, are provided by law. Beside other matters, the Circuit Court has exclusive jurisdiction of patent suits and the District Court of admiralty cases. The Court of Claims has jurisdiction of claims against the United States. The Justices of the Supreme Court, besides their functions as such, are each assigned to one of the circuits, being then known as Circuit Justices. There is also a separate Circuit Judge for each circuit, and a District Judge for each district. Circuit Courts may be held by the Circuit Justice, by the Circuit Judge or by the District Judge sitting alone, or by any two of these sitting together. As constituted at first, the Supreme Court consisted of a Chief-Justice and five Associate-Justices, but the number of the latter has been changed from time to time, and there are at present eight. (*See Chief-Justice.*) The salary of the Chief-Justice is $10,500, and of Associate-Justices $10,000 per annum. The Court is at present constituted as follows: Chief-Justice, Melville W. Fuller, of Illinois; Associate-Justices, Stephen J. Field, California; Joseph P. Bradley, New Jersey; Jno. M. Harlan, Kentucky; Horace Gray, Massachusetts; S. Blatchford, New York; L. Q. C. Lamar, Mississippi; D. J. Brewer, Kansas; H. B. Brown, Michigan. Besides these regular federal courts, the Senate sits when necessary as a court of impeachment; the District of Columbia has a Supreme Court over which the Supreme Court of the United States has appellate jurisdiction; and Territorial Courts are provided, the judges of which are nominated for terms of four years by the President, and confirmed by the Senate, and over which the Supreme Court has also appellate jurisdiction. Cases decided in the highest court of any State may also be reviewed by the Supreme Court, but only

when federal questions are involved; that is, when the controversy deals with the Constitution, laws or treaties of the United States.

II. STATE. The judicial systems of the several States are too widely different to permit of brief explanation. In some of them courts of equity are distinct from those of law, while in others the same tribunals exercise both functions, and in still others all distinction between actions at law and suits in equity is abolished. The manner of selecting judges also varies in different States and from time to time. At the period of the formation of the United States the election of judges by the people was unknown except in Georgia. At the present time, however, the people elect judges in twenty-four of the States. Judicial terms vary from two to twenty-one years, the average being about ten years. The question has been much discussed whether the judiciary should be elective by the people, or appointive by the executive or Legislature, or "councils of appointment." Most of the States have decided in favor of the former alternative, but many of these have found it necessary to lengthen the terms of their elective judiciary in order to lessen the necessary evils of the system, which tends to supplant judicial justice by political shrewdness. The elective system seems to have been a growth of the "spoils" doctrine as a means of rotation in office.

Junketing.—Any trip, excursion or entertainment by an official at public expense under the guise of public service, is popularly called a "junket." The form these junkets most frequently take, is a legislative investigation requiring travel to various points and large hotel bills.

Jury.—A jury is a body of impartial persons sworn to inquire into the truth of facts presented to them and to render a verdict or decision on the evidence. The right to a trial by jury is insured by the fifth, sixth and seventh amendments to the Constitution of the United States and by most of the State constitutions. In criminal cases the right is universal in this country; in civil cases it is general, but may usually be waived by consent of both parties. The petit or trial jury is usually com-

posed of twelve persons, but sometimes a smaller number is used. Their verdict must be unanimous in criminal cases and generally in civil cases. A special or struck jury is ordered by the court in extraordinary cases where it is shown that a fair and impartial trial cannot be had by an ordinary jury. A struck jury is obtained as follows: From the complete list or panel of jurors an officer selects forty-eight whom he considers most impartial and in every way best fitted to try the case at issue; from this list each party strikes off, alternately, twelve names; from the remaining twenty-four the trial jury is selected in the ordinary way. A grand jury is composed of twenty-three persons; its function is to inquire concerning the commission of crimes and to present indictments against offenders, where it thinks proper, to a court having jurisdiction to try the case; twelve must concur to find an indictment, or a true bill, as it is called; its proceedings are secret. The Constitution of the United States and all the State constitutions provide that no person shall be tried for a capital or otherwise infamous crime except after indictment by a grand jury. A coroner's jury, or jury of inquest, is composed of from nine to fifteen persons, and its duty is to inquire into the causes of sudden deaths or dangerous woundings. Sheriff's juries try the title to property held by the sheriff when it is claimed by a third party. Juries are also employed for other special purposes, among which is the determination of the value of property taken under the right of eminent domain. The province of a jury is usually to judge merely of the truth or falsity of the facts alleged, the court deciding questions of law; but in some cases and in a few of the States the jury decides both as to the law and the facts.

Justice, Department of.—This department was organized June 22, 1870, and the Attorney-General, whose office was created by act of September 24, 1789, was placed at its head. The Attorney-General is appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate; his salary is $8,000; he is a member of the Cabinet. The establishment of this department brought under his

control all United States district-attorneys and marshals, and secured uniformity in the trial and prosecution of cases. The Attorney-General rarely argues cases, this work being done by his subordinates. These are as follows:

	SALARY.
Solicitor-General	$7,000
Assistant Attorney-General	5,000
Assistant Attorney-General	5,000
Assistant Attorney-General for the Interior Department	5,000
Assistant Attorney General	5,000
Assistant Attorney General for the Post-Office Department	4,000
Solicitor of the Treasury	4,500
Solicitor of Internal Revenue	4,500
Examiner of Claims (State Department)	3,500

The Solicitor-General takes the place of the Attorney-General in the latter's absence. He has charge of the conduct of cases in the courts at Washington. The Attorneys-General of the United States are given below:

Edmund Randolph, Virginia	1789–1794
William Bradford, Pennsylvania	1794–1795
Charles Lee, Virginia	1795–1801
Theo. Parsons, Massachusetts	1801–1801
Levi Lincoln Massachusetts	1801–1805
Robert Smith, Maryland	1805–1805
John Breckenridge, Kentucky	1805–1807
Cæsar A. Rodney, Pennsylvania	1807–1811
William Pinkney, Maryland	1811–1814
Richard Rush, Pennsylvania	1814–1817
William Wirt, Virginia	1817–1829
John M. Berrien, Georgia	1829–1831
Roger B. Taney, Maryland	1831–1833
Benjamin F. Butler, New York	1833–1838
Felix Grundy, Tennessee	1838–1840
Henry D. Gilpin, Pennsylvania	1840–1841
John J. Crittenden, Kentucky	1841–1841
Hugh S. Legare, South Carolina	1841–1843
John Nelson, Maryland	1843–1845
John Y. Mason, Virginia	1845–1846
Nathan Clifford, Maine	1846–1848
Isaac Toucey, Connecticut	1848–1849
Reverdy Johnson, Maryland	1849–1850
John J. Crittenden, Kentucky	1850–1853
Caleb Cushing, Massachusetts	1853–1857
Jeremiah S. Black, Pennsylvania	1857–1860
Edwin M. Stanton, Pennsylvania	1860–1861
Edward Bates, Missouri	1861–1863
T. J. Coffey, Pennsylvania	1863–1864
James Speed, Kentucky	1864–1866
Henry Stanbery, Ohio	1866–1868
William M. Evarts, New York	1868–1869
E. Rockwood Hoar, Massachusetts	1869–1870
Amos T. Ackerman, Georgia	1870–1871
George H. Williams, Oregon	1871–1875
Edwards Pierrepont, New York	1875–1876

Alphonso Taft, Ohio	1876-1877
Charles Devens, Massachusetts	1877-1881
Wayne McVeagh, Pennsylvania	1881-1881
Benjamin H. Brewster, Pennsylvania	1881-1885
Augustus H. Garland, Arkansas	1885-1889
W. H. H. Miller, Indiana	1889-

Kanawha is a name at first proposed for West Virginia (*which see*).

Kansas.—The larger part of Kansas constituted a portion of the Louisiana purchase (*see Annexations I.*), but the southwestern corner was ceded by Texas to the United States in 1850. It formed part of Missouri Territory (*see Territories*) till 1821, and then remained unorganized till, in 1854, by the Kansas-Nebraska Bill (*which see*) the Territory of Kansas was erected, which included part of the present State of Colorado. After much trouble and not a little bloodshed, caused by the opposing attempts to make Kansas a slave State and a free State (*see Border War; Brown, John*) it was admitted to the Union under the Wyandotte Constitution, which prohibited slavery, January 29, 1861. The capital is Topeka. The population in 1880 was 996,096, and in the last census (1890) 1,427,096. Kansas has seven Congressmen and nine electoral votes. It is solidly Republican. The State is called after the river of the same name, which in the Indian tongue means "smoky water." Popularly it is known as the Garden State, or the Garden of the West. (*See Governors; Legislatures.*)

Kansas Aid Society, was a congressional society formed in 1854 for the purpose of aiding free-state emigration to Kansas, in which region the struggle between the free State and the slave parties was then at its height. (*See Border War.*)

Kansas-Nebraska Bill.—The Missouri Compromise of 1820 had excluded slavery from the Louisiana purchase north of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude, except from the State of Missouri, and the Compromise of 1850 was not regarded as having disturbed that arrangement. That part of this region lying west and northwest of Missouri, and stretching to the Rocky Mountains, was known as the "Platte Coun-

try." In 1851–52 petitions for a territorial organization of this region were presented to Congress, and in 1853 a bill organizing it as the Territory of Nebraska was reported in the House. This bill failed in the Senate. In the next Congress substantially the same bill was reported to the Senate from the Committee on Territories by Stephen A. Douglas. In the meantime, A. Dixon, of Kentucky, had given notice that he would move an amendment exempting this Territory from the operations of the Missouri Compromise. Douglas, not to be outdone in the service of slavery, had the bill recommitted, and reported the following measure: Two Territories were to be organized, Kansas to include all of this region in the latitude of Missouri and west of that State, and Nebraska the remainder. The southern boundary of Kansas was moved to thirty-seven degrees north latitude, the strip between thirty-six degrees thirty minutes and thirty-seven degrees being left to the Indians. Moreover, in order to carry into effect the principle of the Compromise of 1850 (so said the bill), it was provided that: 1. The question of slavery was to be left to the people. 2. Questions involving the title to slaves were to be left to local courts with the right to appeal to the United States Supreme Court. 3. The fugitive slave laws were to apply to the Territories. Further, so far as this region was concerned, the Missouri Compromise was declared repealed. In this shape the bill, known as the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, was passed and signed by President Pierce. This measure divided the Whig party, most of the Southern Whigs joining the Democrats. All Northerners opposed to the measure were known as "Anti-Nebraskas," and these joined the party known soon after as Republican.

Kentuc.—A name applied to the Kentucky boatmen about 1800. They are described as "half-horse, half alligator, tipped with snapping-turtle," lawless and a terror to the neighborhood.

Kentucky was originally a part of Virginia, but was ceded to the national government in 1784, though the cession was not finally settled for several years. (*See*

Territories.) In 1790 it became a separate Territory. By Act of February 4, 1791, taking effect June 1, 1792, Kentucky was admitted to the Union. During the Civil War it did not secede, though represented in the Confederate Congress by members chosen by Kentuckians who were fighting on the Southern side. Martial law was proclaimed in Kentucky by Lincoln on July 5, 1864, and the State was restored to the civil authorities by Johnson on October 18, 1865. The capital is Frankfort. The population in 1880 was 1,648,690, and in the last census (1890) 1,858,635. Kentucky is entitled to eleven members of the House of Representatives and thirteen electoral votes. It is solidly Democratic. The name is of Indian derivation, and means "the dark and bloody ground," alluding to the frequent battles of the Indian tribes. Popularly it is called the Corn Cracker State, and its inhabitants are known as Corn Crackers. (*See Governors; Legislatures.*)

Kentucky Resolution of 1799. (*See Kentucky Resolutions of* 1798.)

Kentucky Resolutions of 1798, were introduced in the Kentucky Legislature in that year by George Nicholas, but Thomas Jefferson is now known to have been the author. They were directed against the Alien and Sedition Laws, and against acts passed to punish frauds on the Bank of the United States. They opposed broad construction of the Constitution, and affirmed that instrument to be a "compact," each State being one party, "its co-States forming as to itself the other party." These resolutions and similar ones, prepared by James Madison, passed by Virginia in 1799, were submitted to other States for their approval, but such States as returned answers expressed non-concurrence in the views there formulated. The Kentucky Resolution of 1799 repeated the former statements regarding the Constitution, and entered a solemn protest against the abuses complained of.

Kickers.—To kick means to show opposition, and in politics kickers are members of a party that do not accept its nominations or fiats with good grace. When

a kicker carries his dissatisfaction to the length of withdrawing from his party, he becomes a bolter (*which see*).

Kid-glove Politics.—Movements looking to reform, especially in local politics, are frequently undertaken by those classes of the community that are in good circumstances. This is natural, as these have more leisure to devote to the task. Such movements are naturally odious to corrupt machine politicians, and as one means of discrediting these efforts among laboring men, they seek to awaken class prejudice. Kid-glove politics and kid-glove politicians are terms employed to create this prejudice.

King Caucus.—A term applied to the Congressional Caucus by reason of its absolute power. (*See Congressional Caucus.*)

King of the Feds was a nickname applied to Alexander Hamilton, the ablest of the Federalist leaders.

King, Rufus, was born at Scarborough, Massachusetts (now Maine), March 24, 1755. He died at Jamaica, New York, April 29, 1827. He was a graduate of Harvard, served in the Continental Congress, and in 1788 moved to New York. From 1789 to 1796 he was United States Senator, from 1796 to 1803 Minister to Great Britain, from 1813 to 1825 again Senator, and in 1825 and 1826 again Minister to Great Britain. He was a Federalist, and from 1800 to 1812 he was each time his party's nominee for Vice-President.

King, William Rufus, was born in Sampson County, North Carolina, April 7, 1786, and died at Cahawba, Alabama, April 18, 1853. He was graduated at the University of North Carolina. By profession he was a lawyer, in politics a Democrat. He served in Congress from 1811 to 1816, and in the Senate from 1819 to 1844. From 1844 to 1846 he was Minister to France, and from 1846 to 1853 again a Senator. In 1852 he was elected Vice-President.

Kitchen Cabinet is a name applied to a certain circle of intimate friends of President Andrew Jackson. These friends were said to have more influence with the President than his official Cabinet. The principal

member of the Kitchen Cabinet was Duff Green, of St. Louis, who established the newspaper, *The United States Telegraph*, in Washington. This paper was the President's organ until 1831, when Green, siding with Calhoun against Jackson, lost the latter's confidence. *The Globe*, John C. Rives and Francis P. Blair, editors, then became the President's organ, and Blair became a member of his Kitchen Cabinet. Other members were William B. Lewis, of Nashville, who was appointed Second Auditor of the Treasury; Isaac Hill, of New Hampshire, who was made Second Comptroller of the Treasury, and Amos Kendall, of Kentucky, who was made Fourth Auditor of the Treasury and finally in 1835 joined the the official Cabinet as Postmaster-General. The term has also been applied to certain advisers of President John Tyler and of President Andrew Johnson, but Jackson's Kitchen Cabinet is meant when the term is used without qualification.

Knifing is a form of political treachery practiced by political organizations against candidates of their own party distasteful to the organization. Although openly pretending to support and aid the candidate of the party, the organization secretly uses its influence against him, and on election day either fails to furnish ballots bearing the candidate's name, or distributes those bearing the name of his opponent. This form of treachery is allied to trading, but differs from it in motive. The motive in trading is not directly a desire to defeat this particular candidate of its own party, but the desire either to elect some other member of the party or to gain the pecuniary reward offered, the defeat of the candidate traded off being merely incidental. In knifing the motive is revenge or hate of the candidate knifed, the trading necessary to accomplish this end being merely incidental. Both of these forms of treachery may usually be discovered by comparison, district by district, of the votes for the particular candidate with the vote for other candidates of the party, and with the vote of previous years. (*See Trading.*)

Knights of Labor. (*See Order of Knights of Labor.*)

Knights of the Golden Circle. (*See American Knights.*)

Knights of the Mighty Host. (*See American Knights.*)

Knights of the Order of the Sons of Liberty. (*See American Knights.*)

Knights of the White Camelia.—One of the names by which the Ku-Klux Klan was known.

Know-Nothing Party. (*See American Party.*)

Koszta Affair.—One of the leaders in the Hungarian rebellion of 1849 against Austria was Martin Koszta. When the revolt was crushed he fled and finally took refuge in the United States where he commenced the steps necessary to secure full citizenship in this country. In 1854 he went to Turkey on business, received a passport from the American consul at Smyrna, and went ashore. The Austrian consul caused him to be thrown into the bay, from which he was picked up and put on board an Austrian frigate. Our representative demanded his release, which was refused. Thereupon Captain Ingraham of the United States sloop of war St. Louis cleared his ship for action and threatened to open fire. This spirited action caused the Austrian officials to surrender Koszta to the charge of the French consul until the question should be settled. A lengthy discussion ensused between Baron Hülseman, Austrian minister at Washington, and William L. Marcy, then Secretary of State under Pierce. As a result of Marcy's able arguments Koszta was released and he returned to the United States.

Ku-Klux Klan was an organization that sprung up at the South during the period of reconstruction. Its objects were the suppression of the negro as a factor in politics; its means, terrorization, ending in many cases in murder. It was a secret organization; its origin is unknown, but it is supposed to have sprung about 1867 from numerous local associations all having the same end in view. Such information as we have in regard to it is founded on a copy of its constitution (prescript as it was termed), and on a congressional investigation

made in 1871. In this prescript the name of the association is never mentioned, two asterisks (**) being inserted instead; their local lodges were called *dens;* the masters, *cyclops;* the members, *ghouls.* A county was a *province;* governed by *grand giant* and four *goblins.* A congressional district was a *dominion,* governed by a *grand Titan* and six *furies.* A State was a *realm,* governed by a *grand dragon* and eight *hydras.* The whole country was the *empire,* governed by a *grand wizard* and ten *genii.* Their banner was triangular, a black dragon on a yellow field with a red border; their mysteries were never to be written, but only orally communicated; the distinctive feature of their dress was a covering for the head descending to the breast, holes being cut for the eyes and mouth; the covering being decorated in any startling or fantastic manner. The order succeeded in its purpose; the midnight raids of men thus clad, who administered whippings or other punishment, had the effect intended, and the Ku-Klux became a terror to all negroes, keeping them either from exercising their political rights or else causing them to act with their persecutors. The order, however, outran its original purpose, and where mere whippings did not accomplish the desired end as with Northern whites that had come South and with the bolder negroes, murder was resorted to. The disorders grew, and in March, 1871, a congressional investigating committee was appointed; in the same month President Grant in a message to Congress asked for legislation to enable the restoration of order at the South, as neither life nor property were there secure, and as the transportation of the mails and the collection of the revenue were interfered with. The Ku-Klux Act or Force Bill was promptly passed. This bill provided for the punishment by fine or imprisonment, or both, of attempts to interfere with the privilege of any citizen to vote, giving the federal courts cognizance of suits arising thereunder and giving federal judges power to exclude from juries persons whom they judged to be in sympathy with the accused. In cases where State authorities were unable or unwilling

to give adequate protection the President was authorized to employ the military and naval power of the United States to secure the same, and suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*. The second section of the bill, declaring the punishment for any conspiracy to prevent a person from enjoying his legal rights was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in 1883. The *habeas corpus* provision was to remain in force only to the end of the next session of Congress. An attempt to renew it failed in 1872. In October, 1871, President Grant issued two proclamations, the first ordering certain associations in South Carolina to surrender their arms and disguises within five days; the second, at the expiration of the five days suspending the writ of *habeas corpus*. Many arrests and convictions followed, and the association was crushed within four months. The Ku-Klux Klan was known by various other names, as White League and Invisible Empire. The name Ku-Klux has ever since been applied in a general way to troubles between the negroes and whites at the South.

Labor Parties. (*See Progressive Labor Party; Union Labor Party; United Labor Party.*)

Laissez Faire—Laissez Passer are two French phrases, in the imperative, meaning *let work* and *allow exchange*. They sum up the demands of those economists that advocate freedom of labor and freedom of commerce. Their meaning has at times been perverted and made to extend to the theory of freedom from all restraint for the individual in morals and in politics. But the well recognized application of the terms is to the theory of political economy that demands the abolition of restraints on labor and trade.

Lamar, Lucius Q. C., was born in Putnam County, Georgia, September 17, 1825. He graduated at Emory College, and was admitted to the bar. In 1849 he moved to Mississippi, where he was for a while professor of mathematics in the State University. Returning to Georgia and the practice of law, he was in 1853 elected to the Legislature. In 1854 he again moved to Mississippi, which State he represented in the Thirty-fifth and

Thirty-sixth Congress. In 1860 he resigned, seceding with his State. He served in the Confederate army and also as emissary to Russia for the Confederacy. He acted as professor, first of political economy and then of law, in the University of Mississippi. He served in the Forty-third and Forty-fourth Congress, and in 1876 was elected to the Senate. He was reëlected, but resigned in order to accept the post of Secretary of the Interior in President Cleveland's Cabinet. In January, 1888, his nomination as Associate-Justice of the Supreme Court was confirmed by the Senate, and he now occupies that place.

L'Amistad Case. (*See Amistad Case, The.*)

Land Grants.—By this name is known the grant of land to corporations to encourage and aid the construction of railroads in portions of the country in which it would otherwise be unprofitable. These grants are usually made directly to the companies. Before 1862 they were made to the States in order to enable them to extend aid to corporations within their borders. To every State, at its admission, Congress has granted five per cent. of the public lands within its limits on condition of the exemption of the remainder from State taxation. In 1850 the first grant for railroad purposes was made. It consisted of about 2,500,000 acres granted to the State of Illinois, and it was used to aid the Illinois Central Railroad. In 1856 about 2,000,000 acres went to Florida, a similar amount was received by Arkansas, while various other States received large tracts all more or less used to encourage railroad building. But the grant of colossal areas began with the construction of the Pacific Railroads (*which see*). The Union Pacific received 2,000,000; the Kansas Pacific 6,000,000; the Central Pacific (as successor of the Western Pacific) 1,100,000, and on its Oregon Branch 3,000,000; the Oregon and California 3,500,000; the Southern Pacific 6,000,000; and the Southern Pacific branch line 3,500,000 acres. Among others that received large grants were the Burlington and Missouri River and the Hannibal and St. Joseph. But the most stupendous grants

were those of 47,000,000 acres to the Northern Pacific and of 42,000,000 acres to the Atlantic and Pacific. From these generous grants a revulsion has set in, and at every session of Congress bills are now introduced and every effort is made to forfeit such portions of the land as are not earned by a strict compliance with the terms of the grant, thus saving the land for settlement. Bills revoking the grant of lands not as yet earned have been passed; among the principal roads affected are the Atlantic and Pacific, Texas Pacific and Iron Mountain, and over 50,000,000 acres have thus been recovered. (*See Subsidies.*)

Land of Steady Habits.—The State of Connecticut is sometimes so called.

Late Unpleasantness, The, is a euphemistic phrase sometimes used in speaking of the Civil War.

Latter Day Saints.—The name by which the Mormons call themselves.

Lava Beds. (*See Indian Wars.*)

Law and Order League. (*See Citizens' Law and Order League of the United States.*)

Law and Order Party.—While there have been many local parties calling themselves by the above name, it is generally understood in United States history as applying to the opponents of Dorr in the Dorr Rebellion (*which see*).

Law of Nations. (*See International Law.*)

Laws, Sumptuary.—Sumptuary laws are those intended to limit the expenses of citizens in the matters of food, clothing and the like. They were very common in ancient times and still exist in many countries. In the colonies, before the formation of the United States, sumptuary laws were generally adopted, but at present they are rare, or, if found on the statute books, are seldom enforced. The tendency of to-day is to supply their place by levying higher taxes on luxuries than on other articles.

Laying Pipes.—A politician is said to be laying pipes when he is making extensive plans and preparations to accomplish some particular end, frequently his own political advancement.

Lecompton Constitution.—In 1857 the majority of the inhabitants of the Territory of Kansas were of the Free State party. In former years the intimidation and frauds of armed bands from Missouri, called border ruffians, had invariably resulted in the election of pro-slavery Legislatures. The election of October, 1857, resulted in the choice of a Free State Legislature The old Legislature, foreseeing this, had met at Lecompton, in September, 1857, and had adopted a pro-slavery Constitution. The Free State party had never recognized the old Territorial Legislature, and had not voted on the only clause of the Constitution that was submitted for popular approval, and so that clause was of course carried. The new Free State Legislature submitted the whole Constitution to the people and it was overwhelmingly rejected. President Buchanan favored the Lecompton Constitution, as did also the Senate, but the opposition of the Northern Democrats sufficed to turn the House against it. A conference committee of Congress therefore submitted a proposition for certain changes to the people of Kansas, and it was agreed to regard the rejection thereof as the rejection of the Lecompton Constitution. The vote was largely against it.

Legislature.—This word as applied to the federal government refers to Congress, composed of the Senate and the House of Representatives, and is discussed under those heads. In the States and Territories the term is commonly used to designate the legislative branch of the government, though the official title in twenty-three of the States is "general assembly" in two "general court," and in one State and the Territories "legislative assembly," the remaining twelve using "legislature" as the official as well as the popular title. In all the States the Legislature is composed of two houses, though Pennsylvania up to 1790 and Vermont up to 1836 had but one house. The upper House is called the Senate in the States and the Council in the Territories; the lower is called the House of Representatives in the Territories and in most of the States, but is known as the House of Delegates, the Assembly or the General Assembly in a few of the States.

Locke's Carolina Constitution.—In 1669 Lord Shaftesbury, one of the proprietaries of the Carolina colony, had a constitution prepared by the philosopher John Locke, for the government of that colony, by means of which an endeavor was made to establish in America what can only be called a feudal empire. The constitution contained 120 articles. The eight proprietaries who held the grant of the Carolina colonies were to combine the dignity and power of a Governor and an upper house of the Legislature. Their position and rule were to be hereditary, and their number was never to be increased or diminished; for in case of death of a member without heirs his survivors elected a successor. The territory contained in the grant was divided into counties, each containing 480,000 acres, and this was again divided into five parts, of which one remained the inalienable property of the proprietaries, and another formed the inalienable and indivisible estate of the nobility, of which, according to the constitution, there were two orders—one earl and two barons for each county. The remaining three-fifths were reserved for the people, and might be held by lords of the manor who were not hereditary legislators. The members of the nobility might neither be increased nor diminished, election supplying all places left vacant for want of heirs. All political rights were dependent upon hereditary wealth. The cultivators of the soil were each allowed the use of ten acres at a fixed rent, but could not purchase land or exercise the right of suffrage. They were adscripts to the soil, were under jurisdiction of their lord without right of appeal to the courts. The supervision of everything in the colonies was vested in a Court of Appeals and seven inferior courts, but no lawyers were allowed to plead for money or reward The religion was to be that of the Church of England. Of course all attempts to foist such a scheme of government on the few scattered Huguenots, who formed the population, met with deserved failure, and after twenty years was abandoned.

League, Republican. (*See Republican League of the United States.*)

Legal Tender Notes. (*See Currency.*)

Legislative Caucus. (*See Caucus, Legislative.*)

Let No Guilty Man Escape.—When the revelations in regard to the Whisky Ring in 1875 were laid before President Grant, he endorsed the above sentence on one of the papers.

Letters of Marque and Reprisal. (*See Privateer.*)

Lewisites. (*See Clintonians.*)

Liberal Republican Party.—Many Republicans were dissatisfied with Grant's first term as President. They believed that the national government had exceeded the proper limits of its power in its treatment of reconstruction problems. These Republicans met in Convention at Cincinnati in 1872. Carl Schurz was elected chairman. A platform was adopted demanding civil service reform, local self-government and universal amnesty, recognizing the equality of all men, recommending the resumption of specie payments, but remitting the questions of protection and free trade to Congress because of the existence in the convention of "honest but irreconcilable differences of opinion" on that subject. Horace Greeley and B. Gratz Brown were named for President and Vice-President. This platform and these nominations were adopted by the regular Democratic convention of that year. Nevertheless, about 30,000 members of that party voted for Charles O'Conor, of New York, and John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, the nominees of a purely Democratic convention, notwithstanding that these candidates had declined the nomination. Some of the members of the Cincinnati convention, deeming the nominations there made to be a mistake, met in New York in June and named William S. Groesbeck, of Ohio, and Frederick L. Olmstead, of New York. The Republican nominee, Grant, was elected by an enormous majority, and the Liberal Republican party was thereafter practically dead, although a few Congressmen still clung to the name.

Liberty and Union Now and Forever, One and Inseparable.—The concluding words of Daniel Webster's second speech in reply to Hayne in the debate of Foot's Resolution (*which see*).

Liberty Party.—A meeting of abolitionists held at Warsaw, NewYork, in 1839, had incidentally nominated James G. Birney for President and Francis J. Lemoyne for Vice-President. The nominations were confirmed by a convention, ostensibly national, that met at Albany, April 1, 1840, and here the name "Liberty party" was adopted. Its platform was the abolition of slavery. These candidates received 7,059 votes in spite of their having declined the nominations. Thereafter candidates for various local offices were put in nomination. On August 30, 1844, the national convention of the party met. The topic of greatest interest at that time was the annexation of Texas, and the consequent increase in our slave territory. On August 16th, a letter of Clay's had been published in which he declared "that, far from having any *personal* objection to the annexation of Texas, *I should be glad to see it*, without dishonor, without war, with the common consent of the Union and upon just and fair terms." This caused the convention to name its own candidates, and Birney and Thomas Morris, of Ohio, were nominated. The total vote for Birney was 62,263. Had the electoral vote of New York gone to Clay, it would have elected him. In that State the popular vote stood: Polk 237,588, Clay 232,482, Birney 15,812. Had Birney not been nominated, it is probable that enough of his vote to elect Clay would have been so cast—certainly none of it would have gone to Polk. The same is true in Michigan. Thus Polk, the candidate representing annexation, was elected by the votes of those opposed to the project. This lesson was not forgotten, and the party did not again name its own candidates. In 1848 and 1852 they supported the Free Soil party, and thereafter the Republicans.

Liberty Poles were poles, frequently surmounted by flags bearing inscriptions, erected during the early history

of the country by the Democrats, as the partisans of France were then known. These opposed the first excise tax, thus causing the Whisky Insurrection. These poles came to be regarded as one of the distinctive emblems of the party, and were variously known as Sedition poles or Anarchy poles.

Lieutenant-General is at present the highest grade in the United States Army. The grade of General of the Army (*which see*) was created for a particular purpose, and while in existence ranked that of Lieutenant-General. This latter office was first created by Congress for George Washington in 1798 during our troubles with France. It then lapsed until renewed by Congress for General Winfield Scott, who was made Lieutenant-General by brevet. In 1864 it was once more revived for General Grant and continued for Generals Sherman and Sheridan. The latter was the last incumbent. Upon his death in 1888, Congress decreed that the grade should be again stricken from the list. The senior major-general, Jno. M. Schofield is now commander of the army.

Lincoln, Abraham, the sixteenth President of the United States, was born in Hardin County, Kentucky, February 12, 1809. In 1830 he moved with his father and family to Macon County, Illinois. From there he made several trips to New Orleans as flat-boatman, and on his return superintended a flouring-mill near Springfield. In 1832 he enlisted in the Black Hawk War and was elected captain. When he returned to civil life he entered politics and ran for the State Legislature, but was defeated, his first and only defeat in a popular election. He then returned to business pursuits, in which he was unsuccessful. His schooling had been inconsiderable, but he had taken advantage of every opportunity for improvement, and after his want of success in business he was for a while a surveyor, but financial troubles compelled him to drop that employment in 1837. During this time he was studying law in his leisure hours, and in 1836 he was admitted to the bar. In 1834 he had been elected to the Legislature of Illinois, in which he served four successive terms; he twice received the vote of his

party, the Whigs, for the speakership, but was neither time elected. After retiring from the Legislature he practiced law, and in 1846 was elected to Congress, being the only Whig Congressman from Illinois. He declined a renomination and was defeated as a candidate for the Senate, and then returned to his law practice. Lincoln and Douglas had been opposed to each other in so many debates that people naturally turned to the former to answer any of Douglas' speeches. In 1858 Douglas stumped the State to aid his canvas for the United States Senate; Lincoln was nominated to oppose him, and the two held seven joint debates at different points in the State. This debate attracted universal attention and largely increased Lincoln's reputation. The Republican popular vote was larger than the Democratic, but the election was by the Legislature, which chose Douglas. In 1859 the Ohio Democrats summoned Douglas to aid them in their canvass for Governor, and the Republicans naturally appealed to Lincoln, who responded. In 1860, at the request of the Young Men's Republican Club of New York, he delivered an address in that city on the political situation, closing with the words: "Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it." On May 18, 1860, the Republican National Convention met at Chicago and nominated Lincoln for the presidency. He was elected, and March 4, 1861, he was inaugurated. His administration was marked by the Civil War, for particulars in regard to which *see Amnesty Proclamation; Civil War; Emancipation Proclamation; War Powers, etc.* In 1864 he was reëlected. On the evening of April 14, 1865, he was shot while attending a performance at Ford's Theater, Washington, by John Wilkes Booth, a Southern sympathizer. He lingered until the next morning, when he died. As before stated Lincoln was self-educated, and the simplicity and generosity that characterized his early life was maintained by him throughout his career. Even during the darkest hours of the war, with the weight of the whole struggle resting upon him, while numberless matters engrossed his attention, none were refused an

audience, and in every case of appeal to executive clemency relief was granted if there were any mitigating circumstances. Though abhorring slavery and opposing its extension, he was not an abolitionist, as has frequently been charged; he was of the people, and always kept in touch with them. His humor was irrepressible, and even the gravest subject was enlivened by a story; but in his disposition there was a streak of profound melancholy most strongly manifest while the responsibility of the war lay heaviest upon him. Below are given the speech made by Lincoln at the dedication, in November, 1863, of a portion of the battle-field of Gettysburg as a cemetery for those that had fallen there, and the close of his second inaugural address: Gettysburg Speech—"Four-score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it far above our power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from those honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not

perish from the earth." Close of his second inaugural address—"With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphans, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

Lincoln Brotherhood.—A name given to many of the organizations effected among the negroes at the South during the reconstruction period for the protection of their newly-acquired rights.

Line of Succession. (*See In the Line of Succession.*)

Little Band. (*See Burr, Aaron.*)

Little David.—A nickname of John Randolph, of Virginia, given him because in debate he compared himself to David and his opponent to Goliath.

Little Giant.—A popular name of Stephen A. Douglas, given in recognition of his small stature and great power as a speaker.

Little Mac.—An affectionate name by which General George B. McClellan was called by his soldiers. McClellan was born at Philadelphia in 1826. He graduated at West Point, but had left the army before the outbreak of the Civil War. He was made a Major-General, and was the first commander of the army of the Potomac. He ran for President against Lincoln in 1864. He resigned his commission in that year. He died in 1885.

Little Magician.—A name popularly given to Martin Van Buren because of his shrewdness and success as a politician.

Little More Grape, Captain Bragg.—At the battle of Buena Vista in 1847, during the Mexican War, the Americans under General Zachary Taylor were attacked by overwhelmingly superior numbers under Santa Anna. Toward the close of the day the Americans were being beaten back, when Captain Braxton Bragg's battery was brought to within a few feet of the

enemy, where even its first discharge of grape staggered the Mexicans. Seeing the effect, Taylor shouted: "A little more grape, Captain Bragg." The phrase has lived and is still used as an exclamation of encouragement for a particularly successful first effort. The truth of this anecdote is denied by some.

Little Rhody, or Rhoda, are familiar names of the State of Rhode Island.

Lobby, The, is a term applied collectively to men that make a business of corruptly influencing legislators. The individuals are called Lobbyists. Their object is usually accomplished by means of money paid to the members, but any other means that is considered feasible is employed. In many cases women are engaged in this profession, for such it has come to be. The lobby is sometimes facetiously called the Third House. The term lobby, literally meaning the ante-rooms of the halls of Congress, has come to be applied to these men that frequent them.

Local Option.—Where the Prohibitionists can not secure a general law for a whole State, prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors as a beverage, they seek to have passed a general law authorizing each city or town to adopt a prohibitory law as regards itself. This relegating of the decision to the separate communities is called local option. Many of the States have been willing to go at least as far as this in meeting the wishes of the Prohibitionists, and the tendency to do so is not likely to be checked at present. Among the States that permit local option are Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas and Missouri. (*See High License; Prohibition.*)

Lockwood, Belva A., was born at Royalton, New York, in October, 1830. Her maiden name was Bennett. She taught school for several years, and then, at the age of eighteen, married a man named McNall. After his death she studied at several institutions, and in 1857 was graduated at Genesee College, Lima, New York. She

then acted as principal in different schools, and in 1868 removed to Washington and opened a school. In the same year she married Dr. Lockwood. She then began the study of law. In 1873 she received the degree of Bachelor of Law from the National University Law School. She canvassed the South for Horace Greeley in 1872. In 1873 she was admitted to the bar of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia. Attempts to secure admission to the bar of the United States Supreme Court failing, she directed her efforts to the passage of a bill in Congress enabling women to practice at that bar. She was successful, and in 1879 she was admitted to practice. In 1884 she ran for President as the candidate of the equal rights party (*which see*).

Loco-Focos.—Previous to 1846 the system of incorporating banks in the State of New York had been by means of special legislation. The removal, in 1833, of United States deposits from the Bank of the United States to State banks, and the prospects of failure of the attempts to have that bank's charter renewed led to the formation of many new banks. The practice of former days of purchasing these charters from the Legislature was revived, and the scandal assumed such proportions that in 1835 a number of Democrats in New York City, chiefly members of Tammany Hall, organized for the purpose of opposing the banks. They called themselves the Equal Rights party. A meeting of this faction, held in Tammany Hall October 29, 1835, was also attended by the regular or Tammany Democrats, who attempted to control the proceedings. Failing in this, they turned out the gas. The equal rights men lit *loco-foco* matches and proceeded to hold their meeting. Their opponents, Democratic and Whig, seized on this circumstance to give them a nickname, and the term clung first to them only and subsequently to the whole Democratic party for some years, for the Whigs delighted to brand their opponents as opposed to the "moneyed interests of the country," and would not relinquish a nickname so well suited to their purpose. The administration of Van Buren, committed as it was

to the sub-treasury system, drew the loco-focos back into their party, but their influence, while it lasted, was potent, especially in New York, and to their efforts are due many of the features of the Constitution of 1846 of that State.

Log Cabin Campaign. (*See Hard Cider Campaign.*)

Log Rolling.—A member of a legislative body will sometimes find it impossible to pass some bill in which he is interested. Under these circumstances the necessary support is often procured by promising support to the pet measures of other members similarly circumstanced in regard to their own bills. This practice is termed log rolling. The allusion is to the custom of men in cutting timber, to aid each other in rolling heavy logs from the forest to the water. By this means some of the most extravagant River and Harbor Bills have been passed, each member refusing to vote for the bill, necessary in some of its provisions, unless the improvement asked for by his particular locality be granted.

Long and Short Haul. (*See Inter-State Commerce Act.*)

Loose Construction. (*See Construction of the Constitution.*)

Louisiana was part of the region purchased from France in 1803. (*See Annexations I.*) In 1804 the territory of Orleans was formed with nearly the same boundaries as the present State of Louisiana, which was admitted to the Union April 30, 1812. (*See Territories.*) On January 26, 1861, a State convention passed an ordinance of secession, and the State was re-admitted to the Union by act of June 25, 1868. The capital was at first and is now New Orleans, but between 1849 and 1868 the seat of government was at Baton Rouge. The population in 1880 was 939,946, and inthe last census (1890) 1,118,587. Louisiana has six representatives in Congress and eight electoral votes. The State is thoroughly Democratic at present and has cast its electoral votes for the Democratic candidates in the last two national elections, but in 1872 the returning board and in 1876 the

electoral commission (*which see*) decided the State vote to have been cast for the Republicans. Louisiana was named after Louis XIV. of France by its discoverer, La Salle, in 1682; popularly it is known as the Pelican State, or Creole State. (*See Governors; Legislatures.*)

Louisiana, Purchase of. (*See Annexations I.*)

Louisiana, Territory of. (*See Territories.*)

Lovejoy, Elijah P., was born in Maine in 1802. Soon after his graduation he went West, where, after teaching for some time, he became the editor of a political journal. Coming under religious influences he joined the Presbyterian Church, and in 1833 was licensed to preach. Soon afterward he became the editor of the St. Louis *Observer*, a religious weekly. At first a believer in colonization, he gradually became strongly anti-slavery, but he always opposed immediate and unconditional abolition. Nevertheless his articles created great excitement and when his office was finally wrecked by a mob he determined to remove his paper to Alton, Illinois. This was in 1836. As soon as his press was landed at Alton it was seized by a mob and destroyed. Another press was obtained and the publication continued for nearly a year, when the second press was destroyed. His third press was destroyed before it could be used. His fourth was placed in a stone warehouse, which Lovejoy and some of his friends defended. The house was surrounded by a mob and the roof set on fire. In attempting a sally Lovejoy was shot and killed, November, 1837.

Loyal League.—A name given to many of the organizations effected among the negroes at the South during the reconstruction period, for protecting their newly-acquired rights.

Lynch Law is the punishment of persons charged with crimes by those who are not legally authorized to act. The name is said to be derived from a farmer of North Carolina, John Lynch, who, finding that the authorities of the early colonial period in which he lived failed to protect him against the fugitive slaves and criminals infesting the Dismal Swamp, took the law

into his own hands. Some have derived the name from one Lynch, of Virginia, who caught a thief and flogged him with his own hands.

Machine, The.—When the organization of a party falls into the hands of professional politicians, who use it corruptly to serve their own political or personal ends, it is commonly known as the machine. "The machinery of a party" is a phrase first used by Aaron Burr.

Mad Anthony Wayne.—Anthony Wayne was called "mad" because of his impetuosity, bravery and apparent rashness. His most signal exploit during the Revolution was the surprise and capture of Stony Point, on the Hudson, on the night of July 15, 1779. In 1794 he completely routed the Miami Indians after the successive failures of Generals Harmar and St. Clair.

Madison, James, was born at Port Conway, Virginia, March 16, 1751, and died at Montpelier, in the same State, June 28, 1836. He graduated from Princeton College and was admitted to the bar. In 1776 he was a member of the Virginia Legislature. From 1780 to 1783, and from 1786 to 1788 he served in the Continental Congress. He was also a member of the convention of 1787; in fact, a resolution offered by him in the Virginia Legislature led to that convention. Between 1789 and 1797 he served in Congress. He was Secretary of State under Jefferson, and was elected to succeed him as President in 1809. His administration was forced into the War of 1812 with England, and that struggle is the principal event of his administration. He served two terms. He was in close sympathy with Jefferson, whose views he shared and by whom he was implicitly trusted. He was an able writer and one of the founders of the Democratic-Republican party.

Magna Charta, (Latin words meaning "great charter,") called also the Charter of Liberties, was an instrument signed at Runnymede, June 15, 1215, by King John of England, who was forced thereto by the barons of the kingdom. Besides restraining certain royal prerogatives that had been abused, and introducing various improvements into the law, it provided for the

protection of every freeman from loss of life, liberty or property, except by the judgment of his peers or the law of the land, and the king declared, "we will sell to no man; we will not deny or delay to any man right or justice." Magna Charta was the foundation of English liberties, and its chief protective provisions have been incorporated in the Constitution of this country and the separate States. (*See Bill of Rights; Petition of Right.*)

Magnetic Statesman.—James G. Blaine is sometimes so called. His friends claim for him the quality so prominent in Henry Clay, of personal magnetism—the personal charm that makes followers even of opponents.

Maine.—The State of Maine was for thirty years after the formation of this nation a part of Massachusetts. In 1819, the Legislature of the latter submitted the question of separation to a popular vote of the people of Maine who voted in favor of it by a large majority. It was admitted to the Union in 1820 by an Act of March 3d, taking effect March 15th. The capital is Augusta. The population in 1880 was 648,936 and in the last census (1890) 661,086. Maine has four represetatives in Congress and six electoral votes. In politics it is counted a certain Republican State. It was named for a district in France, and is known popularly as the Pine Tree or Lumber State, from its principal industry. (*See Governors; Legislatures; Northeast Boundary.*)

Maine Law. (*See Prohibition.*)

Man, A, Who Was in the Public Service for Fifty Years, and Never Attempted to Deceive His Countrymen.—This occurs in the eulogy on Henry Clay, delivered by John C. Breckenridge.

Man, The, With the Sling.—A nickname of John Randolph, of Virginia, given him because in debate he compared himself to David, and his opponent to Goliath.

Manning, Daniel, was born at Albany, New York, August 16, 1831. He received an elementary public school education, and at the age of eleven entered the office of the Albany *Argus* as office boy. He rose step

by step and finally became manager and president of the *Argus* Company. He became identified with various commercial enterprises; was director in several banks and president of one of them. After 1874, he was in various ways closely identified with the management of the Democratic party in his State, although he never held elective office. President Cleveland appointed him Secretary of the Treasury, a post that he filled with remarkable ability until ill health compelled his resignation. From this illness he never recovered; he died December 24, 1887.

Man of Destiny, The.—A name applied to Grover Cleveland in allusion to his rapid rise from Mayor of Buffalo and an unknown man in 1881, to President in 1885.

Marshall, John, was born at Germantown, Virginina, September 24, 1755, and died at Philadelphia, July 6, 1835. He was a lawyer. In politics he was a Federalist. In 1797 and 1798 he was an envoy to France. (*See X. Y. Z. Mission.*) He served in Congress in 1799 and 1800. He was Secretary of State under Adams. In 1801 he was appointed Chief-Justice and served until his death. In his early life he was sometimes known as "General Marshall," a title acquired in the mititia.

Martial Law, is that system of government which is established over civil affairs in the discretion of the commander of a military force occupying a region of territory. It supersedes all ordinary government for the time being. It is only justified by necessity. It may be authorized by a State Legislature, when the public safety demands it. Congress has power to declare it when necessary, but not in a State not engaged in war and where the ordinary forms of justice are not obstructed.

Martling Men.—The combination of the Lewisites and Burrites against the Clintonians in New York State politics. (*See Clintonians.*)

Maryland was one of the original States of the Union. The capital is Annapolis. The population in 1880 was 934,943 and in the last census (1890) 1,042,390. Mary-

land sends six representatives to Congress and has eight electoral votes. It is a sure Democratic State. The original colony of Maryland was named after Henrietta Maria, wife of Charles I. of England. (*See Governors; Legislatures.*)

Mason and Dixon's Line.—This line was originally the parallel of latitude 39 deg. 43 min. 26.3 sec., which separates Pennsylvania from Maryland. It received its name from Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, two English mathematicians and astronomers, who traced the greater part of it, between the years 1763 and 1767, though the last thirty-six miles were finished by others. It was practically the dividing line between the free and the slave States in the East. During the discussion in Congress on the Missouri Compromise, John Randolph, of Roanoke, Virginia, made free use of the phrase, and thereafter it became popular as signifying the dividing line between free and slave territory throughout the country. The boundary, as thus extended by popular usage, followed the Ohio River to the Mississippi, and west of that was the parallel of 36 deg. 30 min., the Southern boundary of Missouri, though Missouri itself was a slave State.

Mason and Slidell. (*See Trent Affair.*)

Massachusetts was one of the original States of the Union. Maine, originally a part of it, was seperated in 1819-20. The capital is Boston. The population in 1880 was 1,783,085, and in the last census (1890) 2,238,043. Massachusetts sends twelve representatives to Congress, and is entitled to fourteen electoral votes. In national politics it has been Republican. The name is an Indian one; popularly the State is called the Old Colony, the Bay State, or the Old Bay State. (*See Governors; Legislatures.*)

Masterly Inactivity. (*See All Quiet Along the Potomac.*)

Mattie Van Buren.—Martin Van Buren was sometimes familiarly called "Mattie."

Maximilian.—During the Civil War Napoleon III., then on the throne of France, sent over troops to enforce

certain claims against Mexico. The French soldiers entered the city of Mexico in June, 1863, and forced the Republican President, Juarez, to retreat. Maximilian, Archduke of Austria, was asked by France to accept the throne of Mexico. An election was held by which the Mexicans were made to seem desirous of having him rule over them. He accepted the throne under the title of Maximilian I., Emperor of Mexico, and arrived at the capital in June, 1864. The United States government made frequent remonstrances against this violation of the Monroe Doctrine, but had too much on their own hands to permit their interference. The French troops were finally withdrawn and Maximilian, being left to his own resources, was unable to hold his position against Juarez. He was captured, condemned to death, and shot at Queretaro on June 19, 1867.

McClellan Minute Men. (*See American Knights.*)

McDonald, Joseph E., was born in Ohio August 29, 1819. His family removed to Indiana in his childhood. In early youth apprenticed to a saddler; was admitted to the bar; served as prosecuting attorney; was elected to Congress in 1849; served two terms as Attorney-General of his State; served in the United States Senate 1875 to 1881. He was a Democrat. Died June 21, 1891.

McLeod Case.—In 1840 one Alexander McLeod came to New York State on business and boasted of his part in the taking of the Caroline (*see Canadian Rebellion*) a few years previously. He was arrested in Lockport and indicted for murder. The British Minister demanded his release on the grounds that McLeod had acted under orders and that the courts of the State of New York had not jurisdiction to interfere in a case that lay only between the national governments of Great Britain and the United States. Our federal government admitted the justice of the British position, but stated that McLeod could only be released by operation of the law. The Attorney-General of the United States proceeded to Lockport to give McLeod all possible assistance. The discharge of the prisoner was sought for under a writ of *habeas corpus*, but the court held that there was

no ground for releasing him. The outcome of the whole affair was that McLeod finally proved an alibi in October, 1841, and was acquitted. In July, 1842, Great Britain apologized to our government for the violation of territory made in the seizure of the Caroline, with regrets that explanation and apology had not been made sooner. Our government accepted the apology and expressed its satisfaction.

Mecklenburg Declaration.—This declaration was adopted, it is said, in May, 1775, at a midnight meeting of representatives of the militia of Mecklenburg County, North Carolina. It declares that the people of that county are free and independent of the British crown, and not only is its general tenor that of the Declaration of Independence, but many phrases are word for word as they appear in that document. The minutes of the midnight meeting are said to have been destroyed by fire in 1800. Whether the Declaration of Independence followed the words of the Mecklenburg Declaration or whether the latter, having probably been replaced from memory, was tinctured with the former, is a disputed question.

Mediterranean Fund. (*See Barbary Pirates.*)

Mending Fences is a phrase sometimes used to signify that a politician is quietly laying plans and promoting his own interest. It originated as follows: Just before the Republican National Convention of 1880 John Sherman, one of the most prominent candidates for the Republican nomination, was visiting his farm at Mansfield, Ohio. One day while in a field with his brother-in-law, Colonel Moulton, engaged in replacing some rails of a fence, a reporter found him and sought some political news by inquiring what Sherman was doing. Colonel Moulton avoided the necessity of a direct reply by exclaiming: "Why, you can see for yourself; he's mending his fences."

Message. (*See President's Message.*)

Me Too.—In 1881 James A. Garfield, then recently elected President, in appointing the Collector of the Port of New York ignored the custom of making

federal appointments within a State on the advice of his party's Senators from that State. (*See Courtesy of the Senate.*) Thereupon Roscoe Conkling and Thomas C. Platt, the New York Senators, and both Republicans, resigned and immediately sought reëlection for the purpose of thus demonstrating that the party endorsed them rather than the President. After a long struggle they failed of reëlection. Conkling, foremost among the leaders of his party, was believed to have been the active spirit in the quarrel, while Platt it was thought had merely followed in his trail. During the contest a New York City newspaper, foreseeing the result, published a cartoon comprising a large tombstone on which Conkling's name was inscribed, followed by a few words of eulogy. Next to it was a much smaller one, similar in design, on which appeared only "Me too, T. Platt." This phrase has become current.

Metropolis of America.—A name sometimes applied to New York City because of its great size, population and importance.

Mexican War.—The Mexican War grew out of the acquisition of Texas. (*See Annexations III.*) Texas claimed the Rio Grande as her southwestern frontier, and Mexico insisted on the Nueces River. The United States supported the position taken by Texas. In 1845 diplomatic intercourse was broken off between the governments of Mexico and the United States, and the latter ordered General Taylor into the disputed territory. In obedience to further orders, he advanced to the Rio Grande in the spring of 1846. On April 26th the first blood was shed in an affray which resulted in the capture of a small body of United States troops on the eastern side of the Rio Grande. President Polk announced to Congress that Mexico had "invaded our territory and shed the blood of our fellow-citizens on our own soil." Congress at once responded (May 11, 1846,) by declaring that "by the act of the Republic of Mexico a state of war" existed, and authorized the President to call for 50,000 volunteers. This bill passed the House by 174 to 14, and the Senate by 40 to 2.

Congress also voted $10,000,000 for expenses. The war was supported most strongly by the South and the Democratic party, while the North and the Whigs were not so heartily in favor of it. However, except that it was caused by the Southern scheme for the annexation of Texas, it was not a party measure. California and New Mexico were overrun by Fremont and Kearney. Taylor gained important victories in Mexico, and in 1847 General Scott marched from Vera Cruz to the City of Mexico, pushing back Santa Anna, captured the capital on September 14, 1847, and thus virtually ended the war; but a few minor engagements followed. For the treaty which concluded the war, and the results of the conflict, *see Annexations IV, and the Treaty of Guadaloupe-Hidalgo.*

Miami Confederacy. (*See Indian Wars.*)

Michigan was once a part of the Northwest Territory (*see Territories*), and then of Indiana Territory, from which it was separated under its own name in 1805. Its boundaries were enlarged by several acts, but in 1836 Wisconsin was cut off from it, leaving its limits much as they are at present. (*See Toledo War.*) It was admitted to the Union January 26, 1837. The capital is Lansing. The population in 1880 was 1,636,137 and in the last census (1890) 2,093,880. Michigan has eleven seats in the House of Representatives and thirteen electoral votes. It is considered a Republican State in national politics, though the Democrats gained heavily in 1884. Its name is of Indian derivation and means "great lake." Popularly it is called the Wolverine State or Lake State, and its inhabitants are known as Wolverines. (*See Governors; Legislatures.*)

Midnight Judges.—In the presidential election of 1800 the Federalists were defeated. In order to gain every possible advantage for their party the Federalists in Congress constituted twenty-three new judgeships, although there was no necessity for such an increase. President John Adams was busy until after midnight on the last day of his term in signing judicial commissions, and the judges so commissioned were in contempt called midnight judges.

Milan Decree. (*See Embargo Act.*)

Mileage.—Compensation for traveling expenses at so much a mile is called mileage. This allowance is made by law to members of Congress for their journeys to and from Washington. Constructive mileage is an allowance for journeys which are merely supposed to be made, as when Congress adjourns and a new President takes office, or an extra session is called. Constructive mileage is now prohibited by law.

Mileage Expose.—On December 22, 1848, Horace Greeley published a statement showing the distance by the shortest post-route from the residence of each member of Congress to Washington, the distance for which he received mileage, the amount paid him, and the excess over what he would have received on the basis of the shortest mail-route. The total of this excess for the Thirtieth Congress was $73,492.60, and the excess in miles was 183,031. Almost every Congressman had failed to make his journey as short as possible. Greeley's *exposé* caused considerable ill-feeling against him; its immediate effect was seen in the adoption of shorter routes by Congressmen in traveling, and several years later the rate of mileage was reduced one-half and constructive mileage was abolished by law.

Military Academy at West Point. (*See United States Military Academy at West Point.*)

Military Necessity.—The Emancipation Proclamation declares that it is issued as an act of "military necessity" by the President as Commander-in-chief of the army and navy. This phrase is used to emphasize the fact that the President issued the proclamation merely in his military capacity.

Mill Boy of the Slashes.—Henry Clay was often so called in reference to his life as a poor boy when he was sent on errands to a mill at a place near his home called "the Slashes."

Milligan Case. (*See Habeas Corpus.*)

Millions for Defense, but Not One Cent for Tribute. (*See X. Y. Z. Mission.*)

Minimum Duties. (*See Customs Duties.*)

Minister Plenipotentiary. (*See Foreign Service.*)

Minister Resident. (*See Foreign Service.*)

Minnesota.—The portion of Minnesota east of the Mississippi once formed part of the Northwest Territory (*see Territories*), and the portion west of the Mississippi was a part of the Louisiana purchase. (*See Annexations I.*) The present Minnesota and Dakota were organized into a Territory, under the former of those names, in 1849, and the State of Minnesota was admitted to the Union May 11, 1858. The capital is St. Paul. The population in 1880 was 780,773, and in the last census (1890)1,301,826. Minnesota is entitled to five seats in the House of Representatives and has seven electoral votes. It is a strong Republican State. The name is Indian in origin and means "sky-tinted water." Popularly Minnesota is known as the Gopher State. (*See Governors; Legislatures.*)

Minority Representation.—Where the vote of the majority of a community or district elects the delegate for that district it is evident that the minority is disfranchised—unrepresented. Minority representation seeks to secure for this portion of the community a voice in the Legislature, in the proportion that it bears to the whole. To accomplish this various plans have been suggested. One provides for the election of several delegates from a district, each voter casting a ballot for but one individual, but indicating a second and third choice, and so on, in case his first choice has already received votes enough to elect him; thus no vote is wasted and every opinion is represented in proportion to its following. Another plan provides for one vote by every voter in districts laid out on a large scale. Every person receiving more than a fixed number of votes (say 1,000) is considered elected and is entitled in the legislative body to one vote in that body for every 1,000 votes cast for him.

Mint. (*See Coinage.*)

Misprision of Treason. (*See Treason.*)

Mississippi.—The larger portion of the present State of Mississippi came into the possession of the United States by the Treaty of Paris (*which see*) in 1783. Georgia,

however, claimed this region and it was included in her cession of 1802 to the national government. A strip along the Northern edge was ceded by South Carolina in 1790, and the Southern portion was part of the Louisiana purchase of 1803. (*See Annexations I; Territories.*) The organization of Mississippi Territory, which included what is now Alabama, was commenced in 1798, and was completed two years later. The State was admitted to the Union on December 10, 1817. On January 9, 1861, a State convention passed an ordinance of secession. Mississippi was re-admitted to the Union by Act of February 23, 1870. The capital is Jackson. The population in 1880 was 1,131,597, and in the last census (1890) 1,289,600. Mississippi has seven seats in the House of Representatives and nine electoral votes. In 1872 the electoral vote was cast for the Republican candidates, but since then it has been Democratic by large majorities. This State is named after the great river of the country, which in the Indian tongue is "great river," or "great father of waters;" popularly it is known as the Bayou State. (*See Governors; Legislatures.*)

Mississippi Territory. (*See Territories.*)

Missouri.—Was originally a part of the Louisiana purchase. (*See Annexations I.*) In 1805, Louisiana Territory was formed, of which Missouri was a part, and to which it gave its name in 1812, when the State of Louisiana was admitted to the Union. The question of the admission of Missouri gave rise to much commotion in Congress (*see Missouri Compromise*), but finally on August 10, 1821, President Monroe, pursuing the acts of Congress, proclaimed it to be a State. The capital is Jefferson City. The population in 1880, was 2,168,380, and in the last census (1890) 2,679,184. Missouri sends fourteen Representatives to Congress and has sixteen electoral votes. It is a certain Democratic State. The name of the State and river is of Indian origin and means "muddy water;" popularly Missouri is sometimes called the Pennsylvania of the West. (*See Governors; Legislatures.*)

Missouri Compromise.—On the admission of

Louisiana as a State, the remainder of the Louisiana purchase was organized as the Territory of Missouri. In 1818 the portion now comprising the State of Missouri applied for admission to the Union. In 1819 a bill for this purpose, containing a clause prohibiting slavery, was passed by the House, but it was defeated by the Senate. In 1820 a bill was sent by the Senate to the House providing for the admission of Maine, and containing a rider authorizing Missouri to organize. There was no objection to the admission of Maine, the House having already passed a bill for that purpose, but it refused to allow the Senate to force its views on the Missouri question upon it. The Senate bill was accordingly disagreed to. A compromise was now patched up on the basis of a resolution of Senator Thomas, of Illinois. The Missouri and Maine bills were to be separated. Missouri was to be admitted as a slave State, but slavery was to be prohibited in the remainder of the Louisiana purchase north of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude. There was also a clause providing for the return of fugitive slaves. A provision in the Constitution adopted by Missouri, forbidding its Legislature to emancipate slaves and ordering it to prevent the immigration of free negroes, led to further opposition, and at the next session of Congress, in February, 1821, Missouri was required to bind herself that the citizens of other States should enjoy all privileges "to which they are entitled under the Constitution of the United States." Henry Clay was largely instrumental in bringing about this compromise; he was chairman of the last committee. Yet so little did he foresee its consequences, that he is reported to have said to a Missouri delegate after its passage: "Now, go home and prepare your State for gradual emancipation." Maine was admitted in 1820, Missouri in 1821.

Missouri, Territory of. (*See Territories.*)

Modoc War. (*See Indian Wars.*)

Monetary Conference. (*See Paris Monetary Conference.*)

Mono-Metallism. (*See Bi-Metallism.*)

Monroe Doctrine.—President Monroe's annual message to Congress in 1823 contained the following sentences: "We owe it to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and the allied powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered, and shall not interfere; but with the governments which have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and just principles, acknowledged, we could not view an interposition for oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States." Also, "the American continents should no longer be subjects for any new European colonial settlement." These expressions embody what is known as the Monroe Doctrine. President Monroe's mention of these subjects was occasioned by the formation in Europe, a few years previously, of what was called the "holy alliance"—an alliance between Russia, France, Austria and Prussia to maintain the monarchical system of government in Europe. It was supposed that they desired to extend their operations to the New World also, especially with reference to the colonies of Spain, some of which had asserted, and obtained from the United States the recognition of, their independence. England sided with our country on this question, and the result was that the allies did not carry out their project. As popularly understood, the Monroe doctrine meant a political protection and a guaranty of freedom from European interference to all states of North and South America. It was not, however, intended to, and by its words it did not, declare that the United States would take up arms against European interference on these continents, nor was its intention to limit or embarrass the policy of our nation in the future. It merely declared that the United States would

regard as unfriendly any such acts of European intermeddling with the political affairs of the two Americas, and it left to be determined by the circumstances of each particular case how far the United States would find it wise to go in opposing it.

Monroe, James, was born in Westmoreland County, Virginia, April 29, 1758. He died July 4, 1831. He graduated at William and Mary College, served in the Continental army and then read law under Jefferson. He was a member of the Virginia Legislature in 1782, and of the Continental Congress in 1783, where he served until 1786. From 1790 to 1794 he was United States Senator, from 1794 to 1796 Minister to France, and Governor of Virginia from 1799 to 1802. He was then, in succession, Minister, again to France to negotiate for the purchase of Louisiana, to Great Britain and to Spain. Once more Governor of Virginia in 1811, he became Secretary of State during Madison's administration and retained that post to the end of the latter's second term. He was then chosen President, 1817, and he served two terms. During his incumbency of the office, party feeling died away entirely and the era of good feeling set in. The Monroe Doctrine was his most important official act, and the Missouri Compromise by far the most important measure of his administration. (*See those titles.*) In 1831 he removed to New York, where he died. He was of the Republican party of his day (*see Democratic-Republican Party*), and of the more extreme and radical wing.

Montana was originally part of the Louisiana purchase. (*See Annexations I; Territories.*) It was organized as a separate Territory in 1854. On November 8,1889 it was admitted as a State. The population by the census of 1890 was 132,159. It has one seat in the House of Representatives and three electorial votes. The capital is Helena.

Moral Leper.—A leper is one afflicted with leprosy, a disgusting and loathsome skin disease. By calling a man a moral leper it is intended to indicate that his moral nature is as disgusting as the physical nature of

the leper. The phrase was used by some opponents of Grover Cleveland in the presidential campaign of 1884.

Morey Letter.—About two weeks before the presidential election of 1880, a letter purporting to have been written by James A. Garfield, the Republican candidate, to H. L. Morey, of the Employers' Union, Lynn, Massachusetts, was published. It was a short note relating to the Chinese question. It asserted the writer's belief that "individuals or companies have the right to buy labor where they can get it the cheapest," that our treaty with the Chinese government should be "religiously kept" until abrogated, and added that he was "not prepared to say that it should be abrogated" just then. The letter appeared in a New York daily paper, and fac-similes were at once published in all the Democratic newspapers and circulated by Democratic campaign committees. It was thought that a large part of the labor vote of the country would be alienated from Garfield. Garfield at once declared the letter a forgery, but several prominent men familiar with his handwriting declared their belief in its authenticity. An employe of the paper that first published it was arrested on the charge of forging it, but the prosecution of the case was subsequently abandoned. In the judicial examination, however, evidence was produced to show that there was no such person as H. L. Morey, of Lynn. A witness that had sworn to the authenticity of the letter was subsequently convicted of perjury and sentenced to eight years' imprisonment.

Morgan, William. (*See Anti-Masonic Party; Good Enough Morgan Till After Election.*)

Mormons.—The Mormons are a religious sect who also take the name "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints." Their founder was Joseph Smith, who claimed to have discovered by divine direction certain golden plates bearing a written revelation. This was in 1827, and near Palmyra, New York. The contents of the plates, being deciphered by Smith, formed what is known as the "Book of Mormon." This was printed in 1830, and it was at once charged by unbe-

lievers to be nothing more than a romance, written some years previously, by one Spaulding, but never published. The same year the church was organized with Smith as president. From time to time the head of the church has announced special revelations on various subjects. One of these, privately announced in 1843, but not publicly made known till nine years later, reversed the teaching of the Book of Mormon and sanctioned polygamy. With the main body of the Mormons, polygamy, though not practiced by all, is defended, praised and encouraged. In 1831 the church removed to Ohio, where they became obnoxious and were driven out. Mormons had meanwhile begun to settle in Missouri. They were driven hence in 1838, and then removed to Illinois, where on the banks of the Mississippi they founded a city called Nauvoo ("beautiful"). Here also they became obnoxious because of their resistance to the legal government, and their supposed immoralities. In 1844 the Governor of the State called out the militia, but Smith and his brother surrendered on the Governor's pledge of their safety. A mob, however, broke into the jail where they were confined and killed both of them. Brigham Young took Smith's place at the head of the church, and resistance to the legal authorities was continued. In 1846 the emigration of the Mormons to a new and unsettled region west of the Rocky Mountains began. In 1848 they were collected at Salt Lake City and in other parts of Utah, which is still their stronghold, though the neighboring Territories and even more distant places contain some of the sect. They attempted, without success, in 1850 to obtain Utah's admission to the Union as "the State of Deseret" ("the land of the honey-bee"). When Utah was organized as a Territory in that year, Young was appointed Governor by President Fillmore. The Mormons for many years continued a course of terrorizing, which drove away federal officers, judges and other "gentiles," as they called non-believers, and Young was removed from the governorship. In 1857 the Mormons were guilty of the murder of a hundred emigrants. This "Mountain

Meadows massacre" was not avenged till 1877, when John D. Lee was executed for his participation in it. From 1857 to 1859 federal soldiers were in the neighborhood to support the national officials, and they met with some resistance. On March 14, 1882, Congress passed what is known as the Edmunds' Bill, approved March 22d, making polygamy a misdemeanor and practically denying the franchise to polygamists. In 1877 Young died and was succeeded by John Taylor as head of the church. The admission of Utah to the Union is not likely to occur so long as there is a possibility of its establishing polygamy on a legal basis when it has the powers and functions of a State.

Morrill Tariff.—A tariff bill passed in 1861.

Morrison Tariff Bill.—On March 11, 1884, William R. Morrison, of Illinois, reported from the Committee of Ways and Means to the House of Representatives a bill reducing most of the existing duties on imports twenty per cent. and putting additional articles on the free list of the tariff. The bill is called the "Morrison bill" and the "horizontal bill." On May 6th, by a vote of 159 to 155 (10 not voting), the House struck out the enacting clause, thus killing the bill. Of the majority 42 were Democrats, and of the minority 4 were Republicans.

Morton, Levi Parsons, was born at Shoreham, Vermont, May 16, 1824. From a clerk in a country store he became a prominent and successful merchant. Having removed to New York he founded, in 1863, the banking house of Morton, Bliss & Co. In 1878 he was elected to Congress, and he was reëlected in 1880. He was Minister to France from 1881 to 1885. In 1888 he was nominated by the Republicans for Vice-President.

Mother of Presidents.—Virginia is sometimes so called because it was the birth-place of seven Presidents.

Mother of States.—A name occasionally given to Virginia because several States have been partly or wholly formed of territory that once belonged to it.

Mountain Meadows Massacre. (*See Mormons.*)

Mud-Sill is another name for the cross-ties used as a foundation for the rails in railroad building. In 1858 Senator Hammond in referring to the working classes as the foundation of society and government, used the words, the "very mud-sill of society." The term spread and was considered an equivalent for the working classes. During the Civil War, the Southerners, who had aristocratic tendencies, often referred to inhabitants of the manufacturing States of the North, as "Northern mud-sills."

Mugwump.—This word is said to be derived from the language of the Algonquin Indians among whom it meant a chief or person of importance. It came to be applied derisively to persons who exaggerated their wisdom and importance, and during the presidential campaign of 1884 it was used to designate those Republicans that refused to support Blaine, the candidate of their party. The name was adopted by these Independents who lost sight of the reproach it had been intended to convey. (*See Independents.*)

Mulligan Letters.—This name has been applied to two series of letters between James G. Blaine and Warren Fisher on certain business transactions. In 1876 charges of corruption in connection with legislation favoring the Little Rock and Fort Smith railroad, and with other official transactions were made against Blaine. A resolution to investigate these matters was passed by the House of Representatives of which Blaine was a member. The letters above referred to, had been written in relation to this matter and they had passed into the hands of one Mulligan, a former clerk of Fisher. Mulligan came to Washington at the instance of the investigating committee; in an interview Blaine obtained possession of the letters and confronted the committee with them and a statement which he had prepared showing his connection with the matter. This was just prior to the meeting of the National Republican convention. During the meeting of the convention Blaine was sunstruck and the investigation was dropped. The charges

were again brought up against him during his candidacy for the presidency in 1884. During that campaign another series of Mulligan letters relating in part to the same and in part to other matters were published. His friends have always declared their inability to see anything improper or incriminating in either series; his opponents believe them to be perfect proof of guilt. Certain it is, that many of the detached sentences have a suspicious sound, and during the campaign these were industriously disseminated and many have passed into currency.

Mutual Protection Society. (*See American Knights.*)

National Banking System.—A system of national banks, authorized to issue bank notes secured by the pledge of United States bonds, was recommended to Congress in the report of Secretary of the Treasury Chase in December, 1861, as a means of raising the revenue necessary to carry on the war. The alternative put by him was a further issue of demand notes, of which fifty millions had already been issued, and the continuance of which he regarded as dangerous. The advantages claimed by him for the national bank system were a safe and uniform currency, greater ease for the government in obtaining loans, a decreased rate of interest (equivalent to the participation of the people in the profits on circulation), avoidance of a money monopoly, and the distribution of government securities among the monied institutions of the country, thus identifying their interests with those of the government. The suggestion was not acted upon at that time, and legal tender treasury notes, amounting in the aggregate to $300,000,000, were authorized. At length, on February 25, 1863, the National Bank Act, having been passed by Congress, was signed by the President. It provided for the organization of national banks by not less than five persons; for all capital stock to be fully paid up; for circulation to the extent of ninety per cent. of the market value of government bonds deposited, but not to exceed ninety per cent. of the par value; the circulation was

guaranteed by the government, which had in return a first lien on all the assets of the bank to cover any deficit provided the bonds deposited did not fully protect it. The total circulation was limited to $300,000,000. This was subsequently, in 1870, raised to $354,000,000, and finally, in 1875, all restrictions on the total amount of circulation were removed. On October 5, 1887, the total circulation outstanding was $272,387,176, $102,719,440 of which had been withdrawn and legal tender notes deposited for its redemption. No bank was allowed to organize with a capital stock of less than $50,000, and then only in towns of less than 6,000 inhabitants; in larger places a minimum of $100,000 capital, and in cities of 50,000 inhabitants or more, of $200,000 is required. The conversion of State banks into national banks was authorized, but only a few banks availed themselves of the privilege until the passage of the Act of 1865, which placed a tax of ten per cent. on all notes of State banks or of individuals used as circulation or paid out by them. July, 1864, there existed 467 national banks; January, 1865, 638; July, 1865, 1,294; and on November 1, 1887, this number had been increased to 3,061, divided as follows:

	Number National Banks Org'nized	Number Failed.	Gone Into Voluntary Liquidation.
Total number of State banks converted into national banks to above date	586	19	69
Total number of new national banks organized to above date.	3,219	100	556
Total organized	3,805	119	625
Total gone out of existence	744	.....	744
Total number in existence	3,061		

The aggregate capital stock, November 1, 1887, was over $580,000,000. The banks are subject to rigid government supervision, and beside reports made at

stated intervals, they are liable to be called upon at any moment for a statement of their affairs, or to subject themselves to an examination at the hands of the bank examiner. They are prohibited from making loans on real estate, or on the shares of their own capital stock, or on their own notes, or on legal tender notes, or from making loans to any one concern to the extent of more than one-tenth of their capital stock. The national banks are subject to a national tax of one per cent. on their circulation and of one-half per cent. on their average deposits, beside the tax of the State in which they are located. The banks have answered the expectations of their promoters, for they have provided a currency uniformly safe and current everywhere. They proved during the war and immediately after it a valuable aid in placing government loans. The currency, indeed, is regarded as too valuable a feature of the system to be allowed to perish, a fate to which the rapid extinction of the public debt at present seems to point. The system has been denounced as one peculiarly favorable to the banks organized under it, but when it is considered that United States four per cent. bonds are now (1888) selling at a premium of about twenty-six per cent., that bonds purchased at that price yield but two and one-half per cent. to the investor, that the banks are allowed to issue circulation to the extent of but ninety per cent. of the par value of such bonds, and that a tax of one per cent. on circulation is exacted, while lawful money to the extent of five per cent. of the circulation is required to be kept with the United States Treasurer, and the expenses of redemption are borne by the bank; under these circumstances it is plain that the profit to banks on circulation is not large. As a matter of fact, when money is worth six per cent., circulation secured by four per cent. bonds purchased at a premium of twenty-five per cent., yields a profit of about five-eighths of one per cent. January 25, 1884, the McPherson Bill, as it is called, was reported to the Senate. Its provisions allowed national banks to issue circulation up to the par value of the bonds. It failed,

however, in the House. The purchase by the government of United States bonds would retire the basis of the national bank circulation. The plans suggested to avoid this contingency are given under *Surplus.*

National Bank Notes. (*See Currency; National Banking System.*)

National Christian Association was formed at a convention held in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in May, 1868. Its main principle is opposition to secret societies. The association has spread widely, and now has branches in many States. About 1872 it began action as a political party, for an account of which *see American Party II.*

National Debt. (*See Debt of United States.*)

National League of Democratic Clubs.—A movement started by the Young Men's Democratic Club of New York, resulted in a meeting of representatives from Democratic clubs in various parts of the country in New York City on April 21, 1888. An association was formed with the above name. The general objects are the support of the principles of the Democratic party. In particular it indorses the policy proposed in President Cleveland's tariff message to Congress in December, 1887, and also the civil service laws. It advocates legal prohibition of the formation of "trusts," and the reservation of public lands for actual settlers, and it maintains that federal taxation shall not be "for the benefit of individual or class interests." The management of the league is entrusted to a general committee, of which Charles Ogden, of Omaha, was elected chairman. Soon after the formation of the league a call was issued for a convention to assemble at Baltimore, Maryland, on July 4, 1888.

National Party.—The formal name of the Greenback-Labor party, adopted at the convention of 1878.

National Republican Party.—During the administration of John Quincy Adams, the unity that had so long prevailed in the Democratic-Republican party showed signs of coming to an end. The differences between the Adams and Clay Republicans and the Jackson Republicans were not merely on the surface, they

had roots deep down. Each acknowledged the other to be members of the same party, it is true, but they nevertheless contained the elements of distinct parties. The Adams section was devoted to principles much resembling those of the old Federalists, but they brought to politics many of the popular elements of Jefferson's methods. They favored a national bank, internal improvements and a protective tariff. In the election of 1828, though defeated, they made an excellent showing, polling 509,000 popular votes to 647,000 for Jackson. Through lack of tact Adams forfeited the support of many followers, and the leadership naturally fell to Clay, and by common consent the name of National Republican was adopted about 1830. In 1831 the party nominated Clay, but adopted no platform. An address to the voters was issued, declaring its principles to be as above stated, but the party was defeated. In practice, its main aim was now opposition to the President, Jackson, and it welcomed as allies men of all shades of opinions on other topics—the nullifiers of South Carolina, the State's-right factions of other States. To all these heterogeneous elements the name of Whigs was applied in 1834, and a large proportion of them formed the Whig party, whose existence dates from that year.

Nativism is the principle that all political power should be in the hands of natives of the country, or that the requisites for naturalization should be rendered very stringent, so as to exclude aliens as far as possible from participation in the government. (*See American Party I.*)

Nat Turner's Rebellion.—In August, 1831, a slave revolt broke out in Southampton County, Virginia. It was led by Nat Turner, who believed himself inspired to do this, an eclipse of the sun in February of that year being the sign. The excitement of the supposed revelation, however, caused him to fall ill, and it was not until August that the design was executed. He and his fifty followers gave no quarter. The uprising was at once put down, however, and Turner was executed. About sixty whites and one hundred negroes lost their lives in the struggle.

Naturalization is the investment of an alien with the rights and privileges of citizenship. In accordance with the power conferred on Congress by Article 1, section 8, clause 4, of the Constitution, an act was passed in 1790 providing for the naturalization of aliens. A residence of two years in the United States, and of one year in the State, was required. The Act of 1795 increased the term of residence in the United States to five years, and this was lengthened to fourteen years by the Act of 1798. The Act of April 14, 1802, remains unaltered in most respects, and is still in force. At present, previous residence in the United States for five successive years, and residence in the State for one year, are required before the applicant can be naturalized. Two years before the naturalization he must declare, under oath or on affirmation, that he intends to become a citizen, and he must renounce all allegiance to any foreign sovereign or state. Persons coming to this country under the age of eighteen may dispense with this declaration. Certain exceptions are made in favor of aliens honorably discharged from the armies of the United States and in favor of seamen on United States vessels. When the terms required have expired, the good and law-abiding character of the applicant is to be proven. He must take oath or affirmation that he renounces all titles and orders of nobility, and that he will support the Constitution of the United States, and then he may be granted naturalization papers conferring citizenship upon him. The Circuit and District Courts of the United States, and State courts having a common-law jurisdiction and a seal and clerk, have power to grant naturalization papers. The declaration of intention, when this is needed, may be made before the clerk of any of the above courts. (*See Expatriation; Citizenship.*)

Naval Academy. (*See United States Naval Academy.*)

Navigation Laws.—The navigation laws of the United States remain to-day practically the same as when passed in 1792 and 1793. They are too long and

complicated to admit of full description, but their chief features may be briefly stated as follows: No vessel is deemed American and entitled to the protection of the American flag unless she is wholly built in this country and wholly owned and officered by Americans. Foreign vessels can not engage in our coasting trade, which is held to include voyages from Atlantic to Pacific ports. American vessels cease to be such if even a part owner (except in a few instances) resides abroad for a short time. An American vessel once transferred by any process to foreigners, can never sail under our flag again. Duty must be paid on the value of all repairs which an American vessel makes in foreign ports on her return to this country. Restrictions are placed on the repairing of foreign vessels in our ports with imported materials. Vessels engaged in trade to ports not in North or Central America, and a few specified adjacent places (except fishing and pleasure vessels), pay a tax on entry of six cents per ton of their burden, but the maximum aggregate tax in any one year does not exceed thirty cents. This is called a tonnage tax. Foreign vessels pay the same tax, but an American vessel is forced to pay an additional tax of fifty cents per ton if one of her officers is an alien. Materials for the construction of vessels for foreign trade may be imported free of duty, but the duty must be paid if the vessel engages for more than two months a year in the coasting trade. Foreign vessels, often at great inconvenience, must unload at a port of entry, which is a single designated port in each customs district of the United States, except when laden with coal, salt or similar merchandise in bulk. American vessels may unload at any port of delivery in the district. Foreign capital is thus kept out of our ship-building and ship-repairing industries. While England and other states have been modifying their old rigid navigation laws, the United States has kept hers practically unchanged for a century. In the earlier years of that period we were developing a fine carrying trade and a prosperous ship-building industry. The result of these laws has been to drive our commer-

cial marine from the seas, to divert our capital into other channels or to foreign shipping, to close our shipyards and to deprive us of a valuable interest, ship-repairing. The navigation laws and their operation are not easy to be grasped thoroughly by the people generally, but the effect they have had on our shipping interests shows that they are radically defective and have failed to accomplish the object intended, namely, the protection and encouragement of these interests.

Navy, Department of the.—This is one of the executive departments of the government. It was created in 1798. The Secretary of the Navy, its head, is a member of the President's Cabinet, by custom, not by law. He is appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. His salary is $8,000. This department has charge of the vessels, navy yards, guns and all other matters pertaining to the navy. Moreover, the hydrographic office at which nautical charts with sailing directions are prepared for the use of seamen, is under the direction of the department, as is also the preparation of the Nautical Almanac, a work of incalculable use to seamen. The heads of the bureaus into which the department is divided are chosen from the officers of the navy above the rank of captain. They hold office four years, and draw the sea pay of their grade or rank, not less than commodore. These assistants are the chiefs of:

Bureau of Yards and Docks.
Bureau of Navigation.
Bureau of Ordnance.
Bureau of Provisions and Clothing.
Bureau of Medicine and Surgery.
Bureau of Construction and Repair.
Bureau of Equipment and Recruiting.
Bureau of Steam Engineering.
Judge-Advocate General.
Commandant of the Marine Corps.

Below is given a list of all the Secretaries of the Navy:

NAME.	STATE.	YEARS.
George Cabot	Massachusetts	1798—1798
Benjamin Stoddert	Maryland	1798—1801
Robert Smith	Maryland	1801—1805
Jacob Crowninshield	Massachusetts	1805—1809
Paul Hamilton	South Carolina	1809—1813
William Jones	Pennsylvania	1813—1814
B. W. Crowninshield	Massachusetts	1814—1818
Smith Thompson	New York	1818—1823
Samuel L. Southard	New Jersey	1823—1829
John Branch	North Carolina	1829—1831
Levi Woodbury	New Hampshire	1831—1834
Mahlon Dickerson	New Jersey	1834—1838
James K. Paulding	New York	1838—1841
George E. Badger	North Carolina	1841—1841
Abel P. Upshur	Virginia	1841—1843
David Henshaw	Massachusetts	1843—1844
Thomas W. Gilmer	Virginia	1844—1844
John Y. Mason	Virginia	1844—1845
George Bancroft	Massachusetts	1845—1846
John Y. Mason	Virginia	1846—1849
William B. Preston	Virginia	1849—1850
William A. Graham	North Carolina	1850—1852
John P. Kennedy	Maryland	1852—1853
James C. Dobbin	North Carolina	1853—1857
Isaac Toucey	Connecticut	1857—1861
Gideon Welles	Connecticut	1861—1869
Adolph E. Borie	Pennsylvania	1869—1869
George M. Robeson	New Jersey	1869—1877
Richard W. Thompson	Indiana	1877—1881
Nathan Goff	West Virginia	1881—1881
William L. Hunt	Louisiana	1881—1882
William E. Chandler	New Hampshire	1882—1885
William C. Whitney	New York	1885—1889
Benj. F. Tracy	New York	1889—....

Navy of the United States.—During the Revolution this country had practically no navy, the largest force at any one time being twenty-five vessels in 1776. After that year the navy dwindled, and by the end of the war but few vessels remained, and those were sold. Under the stress of threatened war with France and of actual war with the Barbary pirates (*see Algerine War*), vessels were constructed, but of these only a few were retained after the immediate necessity for their use had passed. The Federalists favored the establishment of a navy; the Republicans (Democrats) opposed it. The complications between this country and Great Britain, about the year 1812, caused fresh activity, and steps were taken to the formation of a navy. At that time

we had but three first-class frigates, the Constitution, the President and the United States. In 1812, $200,000 annually for three years was appropriated for the construction of a navy, and its permanent establishment dates from that year. Thereafter it was recognized as a necessity by both parties. In 1816, $1,000,000 annually for eight years was appropriated. During the next year live oak and red cedar on government lands were ordered to be withdrawn from future sales and reserved for building war vessels, and agents to supervise and protect these woods were appointed, but in 1861, when this provision might have been of use, the necessary papers could not be found. The navy was not used actively in the Mexican War, and the outbreak of the Civil War found it again in a dilapidated condition. Moreover, at this time many officers resigned, and the government property in the Southern States was seized. At the outbreak of that war there were forty-two vessels in commission. Of these twenty-six employed steam as auxiliary motive power, thirteen were sailing vessels, and three were store-ships. Only twelve were of the home squadron, and of these only four were in Northern ports. The strides made under these discouraging conditions were enormous. Over 3,500 miles of coast were to be blockaded, besides vessels for the Mississippi River and the capture of privateers and cruisers were needed. Moreover, armor was just coming into use, and the government yards were in no condition to turn out modern vessels. In 1862 there were 427 vessels, carrying 3,268 guns; in 1863 there were 588 vessels, carrying 4,443 guns; in 1864 there were 671 vessels, carrying 4,610 guns. By December, 1866, the war being over, these had decreased to 115 vessels in active service. But this number has become still further reduced, as shown below. Large sums have annually been spent on the navy, but they have been used in repairing the old vessels, which, owing to the enormous changes in naval warfare in recent years, have become antiquated.

There were in the naval service in 1887 about 7,500 enlisted men and 750 boys. In 1883 forty-seven vessels

were condemned and sold for a total sum of $384,753. Of late the absolute necessity of immediate action has been appreciated, if our navy is to be maintained even in a condition of moderate effectiveness. The following table shows what has been done and what it is proposed to do. The double-turreted monitors, the cruisers Chicago, Boston, Atlanta, Dolphin, and gunboats numbers 1 and 2, were authorized prior to 1884. The armored cruisers numbers 1 and 2 were authorized in 1886, the cruisers Charleston and Baltimore in 1885, the Newark in 1886, the dynamite-boat in 1886, cruisers numbers 1 and 2, and gunboats numbers 3 and 4, in 1887, the first-class torpedo-boat in 1886. The second-class torpedo-boat Stiletto was originally built and used as a yacht, but her extraordinary speed caused the government to purchase her.

VESSELS OF THE NAVY IN 1887.

CLASS.	RATE.	NUMBER OF VESSELS.	PROPULSION.			DISPLACEMENT TONS.	NUMBER GUNS.
			SCREW.	PADDLE.	SAILS.		
Serviceable	First	3	3	..	..	12630	32
"	Second	10	10	..	..	29250	114
"	Third	41	39	2	..	81243	106
"	Fourth	6	5	1	..	3900	20
Tugs	.....	12	12	..	..	.....	3
Wooden Sailing Vessels	.....	12	..	..	12	22886	76
" " " Unserviceable	.....	10	9	1	..	34287	63
Total	.....	94	78	4	12	184196	414

The pay of seamen is $258 per annum; or ordinary seamen $210. The pay of the retired list of naval officers is seventy-five per cent. of the sea pay of the rank held at the time of retirement. They are to be retired from active service at the age of sixty-two years, or may (except in certain grades) be retired after forty

years of service regardless of age. The present retired list contains rear-admirals to the number of thirty-three. The United States Navy Yards are situated as follows:

1. Brooklyn Navy Yard, Brooklyn, N. Y.
2. Charlestown Navy Yard, Boston, Mass.
3. Gosport Navy Yard, near Norfolk, Virginia.
4. Kittery Navy Yard, opposite Portsmouth, N. H.
5. League Island Navy Yard, seven miles below Philadelphia, Pa.
6. Mare Island Navy Yard, near San Francisco, Cal.
7. New London Naval Station (unfinished), New London, Conn.
8. Pensacola Navy Yard, Pensacola, Fla.
9. Washington City Navy Yard, Washington, D. C.
10. Norfolk Navy Yard, Norfolk, Va.

There are naval stations at New London, Conn., Port Royal, S. C., and Key West, Fla., and a torpedo station at Newport, R. I.

The officers of the navy are trained for their profession at the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis (*which see*). The United States marine corps consists of 2,000 men, including 81 commissioned officers. Colonel Charles Hayward is commandant. The President is commander-in-chief of the navy (Constitution, Article 2, section 2). He acts through the Secretary of the Navy, who is at the head of the Navy Department. (*See Navy Department of the.*) The old vessels of the navy still in commission consist of seven steel and iron vessels and one torpedo boat—all steam vessels; twenty-three wooden steam vessels, three wooden steam receiving ships, twelve iron and wooden steam tugs, one wooden sailing practice vessel, two wooden sailing school ships, one wooden sailing store ship, six wooden sailing receiving ships. On all these vessels the heavy ordnance consists entirely of old muzzle-loading guns. Within the last few years the necessity of increasing the strength and formidability of our navy has been recognized by the Government, and as a result the present, or what is known as the "New United States Navy," consists of the following armored and unarmored vessels: Chicago, 26 guns; Boston, 20 guns; Atlanta, 20 guns; Charleston, 22 guns; Baltimore, 24 guns; Newark, Philadelphia, San Francisco, 29 guns each; Maine, 32 guns; Texas, 30 guns; Cincinnati, Raleigh, 25 guns each; Cruiser, No. 9, Cruiser No. 11, Detroit, 20 guns each; New York, 34 guns; Cruiser, No. 6, 38 guns;

Monterey, 16 guns; Indiana, Massachusetts, Oregon, 40 guns each; Concord, Yorktown, Petral, Bennington, 15 guns each; Puritan, 20 guns; Miantonomah, Terror, Monadnock, 10 guns each, and a number of smaller vessels used for harbor defences, etc. It is the custom of foreign ships-of-war entering the harbor, or in passing in the vicinity of a fort, to hoist at the fore the flag of the country in whose waters they are and salute it; on the completion of the salute to the flag, a salute (of 21 guns) is returned as soon as possible by the nearest fort or battery; if there are several forts or batteries in sight, or within the radius of six miles, the principal fort returns the salute. The Presidential salute of twenty-one guns was adopted that a uniformity in national salutes might be maintained, it being the same number of guns as the royal salute of England. The reason why twenty-one should have been selected as the number of guns has been a source of search and guess, with no satisfactory results. Of the many surmises, the two carrying the most weight of opinion are: *first,* that twenty-one was the same number of years fixed by English law as the age of majority; *the second,* that seven was the original salute, and three times seven would signify one seven for each of the divisions, England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland. It is also asserted that the United States adopted this salute to signify to the mother country that her child had reached his majority, and was prepared, in law, to inherit the land; and to this end fired the "gun of 1776," the figures of which year added together equalled twenty-one. The salutes given in addition to the presidential salute are as follows: To the vice-president of the United States and the president of the Senate, 19 guns; members of cabinet, chief justice of U. S., speaker of House of Representatives, 17 guns; rear admiral, 13 guns; commodore, 11 guns; captain, 9 guns; to a sovereign or chief magistrate of any foreign country, 21 guns, to the heir apparent or consort of a reigning sovereign, 21 guns. A salute in accordance with their rank is also given to the viceroy, governor-

general or governors of provinces belonging to foreign states, to ambassadors extraordinary and plenipotentiary, to envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary, to ministers resident accredited to the United States, to charges d'affairs in charge of missions in the United States, to consuls general accredited to the United States and to officers of foreign services. The salary of the principal officers of the United States navy is as follows: Rear-admiral, at sea $6,000, on shore duty $5,000, leave or waiting orders $4,000; commodore, at sea $5,000, on shore duty $4,000, leave or waiting orders $3,000; captain, at sea $4,500, on shore duty $3,500, leave or waiting orders $2,800; commander, at sea $3,500, on shore duty $3,000, leave or waiting orders $2,300; lieut.-commander, first four years, at sea $2,800, thereafter $3,000, on shore duty $2,400, thereafter $2,600, leave or waiting orders $2,000, thereafter $2,200; lieutenant, first five years, at sea $2,400, thereafter $2,600, on shore duty $2,000, thereafter $2,200, leave or waiting orders $1,600, thereafter $1,800; lieutenant, junior grade, first five years, at sea $1,800, thereafter $2,000, on shore duty $1,500, thereafter $1,700, leave or waiting orders $1,200, thereafter $1,400; ensign, first five years, at sea $1,200.

Nebraska was originally a part of the Louisiana purchase. (*See Annexations I.; Territories.*) In 1854 it was organized as a separate territory, including Montana, Dakota, Wyoming and part of Colorado, as these now exist. On March 1, 1867, the President's proclamation, following an act of Congress, declared it to be a State. The capital is Lincoln. The population in 1880 was 452,402, and in the last census, 1890, 1,058,910. Nebraska has three seats in the House of Representatives and five electoral votes. It is Republican in politics. Its name is of Indian origin, and is supposed to mean "shallow water." (*See Governors; Legislatures.*)

Neutrality is the abstention from engaging in a war carried on between other nations and the preservation of complete impartiality toward all the belligerents. The territory of the neutral is inviolable, but if permission to use it is granted to one belligerent it must be granted to

all. War vessels with their prizes may enter neutral ports unless forbidden; by the laws of the United States prizes are not admitted to our ports. The right of belligerents to raise forces in a neutral country, if granted to one, must be granted to all; the United States permits this to none. It is practically recognized at present that a neutral flag protects both vessel and cargo, except articles contraband of war, and that neutral goods, with the same exception, are protected even on a belligerent vessel. Neutral vessels must be provided with proper papers and must submit to reasonable examination. (*See Blockade; Contraband of War.*) The persons and property of belligerents are protected while in neutral jurisdiction. War ships of belligerents must preserve peace with each other while in neutral harbors, or within a marine league of a neutral coast. If a war-ship leaves a neutral port, war-ships of its enemy are not permitted to leave till a day later; this is called the "twenty-four hour rule." The person and property of a neutral are inviolable even when among belligerents, so long as he abstains from participating in hostilities.

Nevada was originally a part of Mexico and was ceded to us by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848. (*See Annexations IV.*) It was organized as a separate Territory in 1861, and was admitted to the Union on October 31, 1864, by the President's proclamation, in accordance with an act of Congress. The capital is Carson City. The population in 1880 was 62,266 and in the last census (1890) 45,761. Nevada has one representative in Congress and three electoral votes. In 1872 and 1880 the vote for President was Democratic and in 1876 and 1884 Republican. Its name is of Spanish origin and means "snow covered." Popularly it is known as the Sage Hen State. (*See Governors; Legislatures.*)

New Breeches.—A nickname applied to the Constitution while it was before the people for ratification.

New England Emigrant Aid Company, was a corporation chartered by the Massachusetts Legislature

in 1855, to aid free State emigration to Kansas, in which region the struggle between the free State and the slave parties was then at its height. (*See Border War.*)

New Hampshire was one of the original States of the Union. The capital is Concord. The population in 1880 was 346,991, and in the last census (1890) 376,530. New Hampshire has two representatives in Congress and four electoral votes. It is considered a Republican State. It was named for Hampshire County in England, and is known familiarly as the Granite State, from its extensive granite quarries. (*See Governors; Legislatures.*)

New Jersey was one of the original States of the Union. The capital is Trenton. The population in 1880 was 1,131,116, and in the last census (1890) 1,444,933. New Jersey is entitled to seven seats in the House of Representatives and nine electoral votes. It may be considered a Democratic State, though somewhat doubtful. Throughout and since the Civil War, except in 1872, the Democratic electors have been chosen. It was named for the Island of Jersey, one of the Channel Islands. (*See Governors; Legislatures.*)

New Mexico was organized as a Territory of the United States by Act of September 9, 1850, from territory ceded by Mexico. (*See Annexations IV.*) In 1854 the region acquired by the Gadsden purchase (*see Annexations V.*) was added to New Mexico, which then included Arizona and parts of Nevada and Colorado, as these now exist. A few years later the northwestern and northeastern corners were given to Nevada and Colorado, respectively, and in 1863 the western half was formed into the Territory of Arizona. Santa Fe is the capital. The population in 1880 was 119,565 and in the last census (1890) 153,593. It would probably have been made a State before this, but for the fear that its semi-Mexican population would practically establish a State church. (*See Governors; Legislatures.*)

New Roof.—A nickname applied to the Constitution while it was before the people for ratification.

New York was one of the original States of the Union. The capital is Albany. The population in 1880 was 5,082,871, and in the last census (1890) 5,997,853. New York has thirty-four seats in the House of Representatives and thirty-six electoral votes. It is a doubtful State, and the most important one in national politics. In 1872 and 1880 it was carried for the Republican national candidates, and in 1876 and 1884 by the Democratic. It was named in honor of the Duke of York, one of its colonial governors. Popularly it is known as the Empire State, from its importance, and as the Excelsior State, from the motto on its coat of arms. (*See Governors; Legislatures.*)

Nez Perce War. (*See Indian Wars.*)

Nicholas Biddle's United States Bank.—Under this name the second United States Bank was known, after it was re-chartered by the State of Pennsylvania in 1836. The bank paid the State $2,000,000 for the charter. Nicholas Biddle, the president, claimed for the bank a large surplus after paying for the charter. The bank failed in 1841. In 1838 the stock was quoted as high as 125; in 1841 it dropped to 3¼.

Night-Soilers.—A derisive name applied by the Hunkers to those members of the Democratic party that called themselves Free-Soilers. (*See Free-Soil Party.*)

Noblest Roman of them All.—This phrase occurs in Shakespeare's tragedy of Julius Cæsar, and is applied to Brutus. Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio, is sometimes popularly so-called.

No Man's Land. (*See Cimarron.*)

Nominating Conventions.—When the congressional caucus came to an end the present system of nominating conventions sprang up. In this country the earliest political influences were wielded by groups of leaders. Then followed the caucus in the Legislature for the nomination of State officers, and the congressional caucus (*which see*) to nominate the President. The present system had its origin in the State of New York, where it was suggested by the Tammany Society as early as 1813. The caucuses of the Legislatures had from time

to time admitted citizens to their councils. This caucus, containing only members of the Legislature, did not, of course, represent those parts of the State in which the opposite party had been successful, and in 1817 these unrepresented parts in New York sent delegates to the caucus. Here was laid the foundation of the present system, but it was not fairly adopted even in New York until 1824, and by 1830 it was well established in most of the States. By 1835 the system, including the national conventions, was completely established. The first adoption of the system was by the Democratic party. Its opponents were slower in making use of it, and it was not until 1844 that the Whig party had a complete organization on this basis. The voters of a party in a town or election district hold a primary convention, as it is called, and this primary is the unit which is compounded into the county, State and national conventions of the party, each of these nominating the officers for its respective domain. The national conventions of both the Democratic and the Republican parties admit from each State two delegates for every electoral vote, but while the Republicans give a vote to two delegates from every territory, the Democrats do not. In Democratic national conventions every State votes as a unit, the will of the majority determining the choice of the State delegation, the vote of two-thirds of the delegates being required to nominate. (It has never been determined whether two-thirds of all the delegates to the convention, or two-thirds of those present, is requisite.) In the convention of 1884 the opposition to Cleveland made strong efforts to break the "unit rule." In Republican national conventions every delegate votes as an individual merely, and a majority vote is sufficient to nominate. The only real attempt to introduce the "unit rule," or vote by States, was made in 1880, in the interest of Grant's nomination for a third term (his second term expired in 1877), but it failed. These rules have been adopted by convention after convention, although their adoption by any subsequent convention is in no way assured.

The Territorial delegates, who are admitted in the Republican Convention but not in the Democratic, are chosen in the same way as a Congressional delegate.

Non-Importation.—An act of Congress prohibiting the importation of certain merchandise, or merchandise from specified countries, is known as a non-importation law. The chief one in our history was passed in April, 1806, forbidding the importation of certain articles produced by England or her colonies. It went into effect in November, but was soon suspended, and afterward the Embargo and Non-Intercourse Acts took its place.

Non-Intercourse.—Congressional prohibition of commerce with a particular nation, or with particular nations, is called a non-intercourse law. On March 1, 1809, a Non-Intercourse Act was passed to take the place of the Embargo Act. It prohibited commerce with England and France, and forbade the entrance of vessels of those nations or goods produced by them or their colonies. With several modifications it remained in force against Great Britain till the War of 1812.

Non-Interference, Doctrine of.—A name applied to the doctrine of Calhoun, that Congress had no right to interfere with slavery in the States and Territories. It is best explained by the following resolution, introduced in the national Democratic Convention of 1848, by William L. Yancey, of Alabama: "*Resolved*, That the doctrine of non-interference with the rights of property of any portion of the people of this confederacy, be it in the States or Territories thereof, by any other than the parties interested in them, is the true Republican doctrine recognized by this body." At that time it was rejected. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill, passed in 1854, is the first law countenancing this principle, notwithstanding the fact that this bill refers to the Compromise of 1850 as having recognized it.

North Carolina was one of the original States of the Union. A State convention passed an ordinance of secession on May 21, 1861, and by Act of June 25, 1868, the state was re-admitted. The capital is Raleigh. The population in 1880 was 1,399,750, and in the last

census (1890) 1,617,947. North Carolina has nine representatives in Congress and eleven electoral votes. It is a Democratic State in national politics. The two Carolinas were named after Charles II., of England (in Latin, *Carolus*). Popularly it is called the Old North State, the Tar State and the Turpentine State. (*See Governors; Legislatures.*)

Northeast Boundary.—The Treaty of 1783, between Great Britain and the United States, defined the northern boundary of the latter between the St. Lawrence and the Atlantic. For nearly sixty years, however, the meaning of the language used was in dispute, especially as to the "highlands" and the true source of the Connecticut River. Commissioners appointed under Jay's Treaty of 1794 helped to settle some of the boundary marks, but the question remained unsettled, as a whole, despite efforts made in 1803, in 1814 by the Treaty of Ghent, in 1827 and in other years. By the convention of 1827, the matter was referred for arbitration to the king of the Netherlands, but his award, rendered in 1831, was accepted by neither nation. In 1838 and 1839 there were some hostilities on the border (called the Aroostook disturbance), Maine sent armed men thither and erected forts, and Congress authorized the President to resist encroachments of British subjects. General Scott, however, arranged for a truce and a joint occupation. Great Britain finally appointed Lord Ashburton to settle the matter with our government, and he concluded a treaty (*see Ashburton Treaty*) with Daniel Webster, then Secretary of State, on August 9, 1842. This treaty fixed the boundary line favorably to British claims on the whole, though New York and New Hampshire gained some territory. Maine and Massachusetts were to be compensated by the United States for territory given up, grants of land in the disputed region were confirmed and the navigation of the St. John River was made free for people of both nations. Much popular indignation was felt in this country at the yielding of any portion of our claims.

Northwest Boundary.—Russia, Spain, Great Brit-

ain and the United States have each at one time or another laid claim to part or all of the territory lying west of the Rocky Mountains and between latitude forty two degrees north, the present northern boundary of California, and fifty-four degrees, forty minutes north. This whole region was known as Oregon. Russia withdrew her claims to the territory south of fifty-four degrees, forty minutes (the present southern limit of Alaska) by a treaty with the United States of 1824 (ratified by our government January 11, 1825), and by a treaty with Great Britain of February, 1825. The claim of Spain passed to France by treaty, along with the region known as Louisiana in 1800, and was transferred to the United States in 1803 by the purchase of Louisiana. (*See Annexations I.*) Spain still held what is now a part of our Pacific coast, but by the treaty of 1819 (ratified by Spain in 1821) she named the latitude of forty-two degrees as the northern limit of her territory. (*See Annexations II.*) Great Britain and the United States were now the only claimants to Oregon. Both based their claims on discovery, exploration and occupation. Great Britain, however, showed a willingness to compromise on the Columbia River as the boundary, while the United States would not entertain the thought of compromise short of the forty-ninth degree. At the same time our government claimed as far north as the headwaters of the Columbia, in about latitude fifty-two degrees, and a strong popular opinion prevailed that the territory up to fifty-four degrees forty minutes belonged to us. This was probably caused by the terms of the treaty with Russia, which of course had no force as between this country and Great Britain. The Treaty of Peace of 1783, which closed the Revolution, settled our northern boundary as far west as the Mississippi, which was at that time the western limit of our territory. After the purchase of Louisiana, the convention of 1818 between England and the United States carried the boundary as far west as the Rocky Mountains, along the forty-ninth parallel of latitude, leaving the region west of those mountains open to joint

occupation for ten years. A convention, ratified by the United States in April, 1828, continued this joint occupation indefinitely, providing, however, that either nation might terminate the arrangement by a year's notice. The yielding to British claims as to the *Northeast Boundary* (*which see*) by the Treaty of 1842, led to a popular desire, especially marked in the Democratic party, to enforce our extreme claims in the northwest, and gave rise to the political cry of "fifty-four forty or fight." In the latter part of Tyler's administration (1844–45) Calhoun, then Secretary of State, had made an offer to accept the forty-ninth degree as the boundary, which a calm view of the facts seems to show was the utmost the United States could rightfully claim. England, however, insisted on the Columbia River from the forty-ninth parallel to the Pacific. On Calhoun's refusal an arbitration was proposed, which was also declined. A strong war feeling was now aroused in Great Britain, to avoid the consequences of which Polk's Secretary of State, Buchanan, in July, 1845, again offered to accept the forty-ninth parallel. This was refused by England and also withdrawn by Buchanan, because of the indignation aroused in this country at the thought of yielding. Congress debated the matter and advised giving the notice necessary to terminate the joint occupancy, which was done. Great Britain was avowedly making war preparations. Finally, however, in June, 1846, the British ambassador made an offer to accept as the boundary the forty-ninth parallel, as far as the channel between Vancouver's Island and the mainland, and from that point a line through the middle of that channel and the Strait of Fuca to the Pacific. Both nations were to have free navigation of the channel and the Columbia River. By the advice of the Senate ratifications were exchanged to a convention on this basis on July 17, 1846. The Treaty of Washington, 1871, provided for the decision by the Emperor of Germany of a dispute which had arisen under the settlement of 1846. The United States claimed the Canal de Haro as the channel through which the boundary was to run, while

Great Britain claimed the Rosario Straits; San Juan and other islands were thus in dispute; Emperor William in 1872 decided in favor of the United States, and the boundary was thus at last and completely defined.

Northwest Conspiracy.—By this name is known a plot that was hatched by Southern sympathizers at the North, during the Civil War, for the purpose of aiding the South by an insurrection of large proportions. It takes its name from the section of the country in which it was formed. Illinois was probably the headquarters. In June, 1864, exposures in regard to it were made, arms seized and leaders arrested. The execution of the design was thus thwarted.

Northwest Territory. (*See Territories.*)

No Union With Slaveholders.—One of the mottoes of the abolition newspaper, *The Liberator*. (*See Abolitionists.*)

Nullification is the act of nullifying or declaring void a law. In our history the term is applied to the nullification by a State of a national law. The Cherokee Case is the first successful instance of it, but the word usually has relation to the case of South Carolina, where the result was different. The nullification doctrine of Hayne differed slightly from that of Calhoun, Hayne declaring that the right to nullify resided in the State Legislature, while Calhoun maintained that it must be exercised by the people in a State convention. These doctrines were called into being under the following circumstances. The tariffs of 1824 and of 1828 had gradually introduced a system of protection of home manufactures. The South, employing unskilled and untaught slave labor, had no manufactures, and therefore objected to a system protecting Northern manufactures at its expense. A tariff bill, slightly reducing some duties, became a law July 14, 1832, but the South, and preëminently South Carolina, was not satisfied. This State now took steps to carry into execution threats previously made. A State convention was called to meet November 19, 1832, and on November 24th an ordinance of nullification was passed. This ordinance

declared the Tariff Acts of 1828 and 1832 void; forbade the payment of duty under these acts after February 1, 1833; declared an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States regarding the validity of the ordinance to be contempt of the State court; caused every juror and every State officer to swear to support the ordinance; and declared that if force were used against her, she would consider herself no longer a member of the Union. President Jackson acted with energy. He issued a proclamation pointing out that nullification was inconsistent with the Constitution, and "disunion by armed force" treason. General Scott was ordered to Charleston. The collector of that city was instructed to take precautions to insure the payment of duties, and a naval force entered its harbor. In January, 1833, a private meeting of the nullifiers had decided to postpone the operations of the ordinance until after the adjournment of Congress, and duties were paid after the 1st of February as they had been before. Nullification had been crushed by the energy of Andrew Jackson. Toward the end of February, 1833, a new tariff bill was passed, though by no means one entirely satisfactory to the South, and on March 16th a State convention repealed the ordinance of nullification.

Offensive Partisans.—This phrase occurs in a confidential circular letter of Postmaster-General Vilas, dated April 29, 1885. It treats of the removal from office of certain Republican postmasters and the appointment of Democratic successors, and declares that in order to secure a removal, proof must be furnished that the incumbent was an "offensive partisan." The phrase has become common.

Office of President is Essentially Executive in Its Nature.—Grover Cleveland in his letter of August 18, 1884, accepting the presidential nomination of the Democratic party used the following words, which have since passed into current use: "The office of President is essentially executive in its nature."

O Grab Me Act.—The opponents of the Embargo Act of 1807, spelling the name backwards, called it the

"O grab me" Act, in allusion to the inequality with which it bore on the different sections of the country, favoring the agricultural interests of the South at the expense of the shipping and commercial interests of New England.

Ohio was cut off from the Northwest Territory in 1800, and organized separately. (*See Territories.*) It is somewhat doubtful whether the date of its admission to the Union should be November 29, 1802, or that of the act of February 19, 1803, but probably the former. The capital is Columbus. The population in 1880 was 3,198,062, and in the last census (1890) 3,672,316. Ohio has twenty-one Congressmen and twenty-three electoral votes. It is a Republican State. The name is of Indian origin and means "beautiful river!" Popularly Ohio is called the Buckeye State and its inhabitants Buckeyes, from the buckeye-tree, a species of horse-chestnut, which abounds in the State. (*See Governors; Legislatures; Toledo War.*).

Ohio Idea.—The suggestion that such parts of the United States debt as were not in terms made payable in coin be paid in greenbacks passed under the above name. (*See Greenback-Labor Party.*)

Oklahoma Territory was originally a part of the Indian Territory, but was organized as a separate Territory by Act of May 2, 1890. Previous to its organization several attempts were made to settle in it by white men who were known as "Oklahoma Boomers," but as the land there belonged to the Indians this was not permitted. The population according to the last census (1890) was 61,834. The capital is Guthrie. (*See Governors; Legislatures.*)

Old Abe.—A familiar name by which Abraham Lincoln came to be known among the people.

Old Bullion was a nickname given to Thomas H. Benton, of Missouri, by reason of his advocacy, during the discussion as to re-chartering the United States Bank in Jackson's administration, of the adoption of gold and silver as the currency of the country.

Old Colony.—A familiar name for the State of Massachusetts.

Old Dominion.—A term frequently applied to Virginia. Its origin is not settled.

Old Guard Dies, But Never Surrenders.—The flower of Napoleon's army was known as the Old Guard. In the battle of Waterloo they were reserved to make the final and decisive charge, which, though gallantly carried out, was unsuccessful. All hope of a French victory was lost, and retreat was ordered. The Old Guard were surrounded and called on to surrender. Then General Cambronne is said to have replied (though the phrase is claimed by some to have been an after invention) "The Old Guard dies, but never surrenders," and making another charge, they perished almost to a man. In our political history the supporters of Grant in the Republican convention of 1880 were known as the Old Guard, and of this famous but unsuccessful "Three Hundred and Six" it was said, "The Old Guard dies, but never surrenders."

Old Hickory.—A *sobriquet* of Andrew Jackson, first given by his soldiers in 1813. It is supposed by some to have originated in the example Jackson set his soldiers, when short of rations, of feeding on hickory nuts. But Parton says: "It was not an instantaneous inspiration, but a growth. First of all, the remark was made by some soldier who was struck with his commander's pedestrian powers, that the general was 'tough.' Next it was observed that he was as 'tough as hickory.' Then he was *called* 'Hickory.' Lastly, the affectionate adjective 'old' was prefixed, and the general thenceforth rejoiced in the completed nickname, usually the first-won honor of a great commander."

Old Man Eloquent.—John Quincy Adams was so called.

Old Pathfinder.—A popular name given to John C. Fremont, in allusion to his success as an explorer.

Old Public Functionary is a phrase by which James Buchanan was known. He applied the term to himself in his annual message to Congress in 1857. During his life he was referred to as O. P. F.

Old Rough and Ready.—A nickname of General Zachary Taylor.

Old Saddle-Bags is a name applied to Joseph E. McDonald, of Indiana (*see his name*).

Omnibus Bill, The. (*See Compromise of* 1850.)

Omnibus Bills.—Bills "embracing numerous distinct objects" are called omnibus bills.

Once an Englishman Always an Englishman. (*See War of* 1812.)

On the Fence.—In political parlance a man is said to be on the fence when he is undecided whether or not to support a particular measure or man, or when he stands between two parties, allied with neither. The comparison implied will be still plainer when we add the contemptuous phrase sometimes applied to a political time-server, that he is "on the fence ready to drop on either side."

On to Richmond.—This cry, started during the Civil War by Horace Greeley in the New York *Tribune*, was reëchoed by the federal army and those who advocated an immediate forward movement on the Confederate capital.

On to Washington.—This was the cry of the Confederate army in the early part of the Civil War, when they were crowding toward the capital and thought it lay within their grasp.

Open Letter.—An open letter is one published in a newspaper or other public print instead of being sent as usual to the person addressed. This course is sometimes pursued where the controversy is of general interest either from its nature or from the peculiar circumstances of the case.

Order of American Knights. (*See American Knights.*)

Order of Knights of Labor is the name of one of the largest national labor organizations of the United States. It is a secret order and was established in 1869. It is at present composed of about 200,000 members, comprising about 3,400 assemblies. At its head is the General Master Workman. Its object is the ameliora-

tion of the condition of its members, that is, laboring men, and to that end strikes are resorted to, but only when absolutely necessary, arbitration being preferred. The General Master Workman at present is T. V. Powderly.

Order of the Sons of Liberty. (*See American Knights.*)

Order of the Star Spangled Banner. (*See American Party.*)

Orders in Council. (*See Embargo Act.*)

Ordinance of 1784.—At the close of the Revolution it was regarded as unjust that the States having unsettled western possessions should hold the same solely for their own benefit, and it was agreed that these should be ceded to the general government. In 1784 Jefferson presented to the Continental Congress, at Philadelphia, Virginia's deed of cession of all her territory northwest of the Ohio, and, as chairman of a committee appointed for the purpose, he submitted a plan for the government of that tract and of any other that might be ceded within certain geographical limits. This is known as the Ordinance of 1784. As reported, it provided, among other regulations, for the division of the territory into embryo States, and ordained that it should forever remain a part of and subject to the government of the United States, and finally it abolished slavery in the territory after the year 1800. Its concluding section declared it to be a compact between the thirteen original States and "those newly described," and to be unalterable except by the consent of Congress and of the State concerned. The vote on the section prohibiting slavery showed six States in favor of the section and three against it, but as it could not be adopted by less than a majority of all the States, it failed. In this shape the ordinance was carried.

Ordinance of 1787.—"An ordinance for the government of the Territory of the United States northwest of the river Ohio," was reported to the last Continental Congress at New York, in 1787, by a committee appointed for the purpose. This ordinance followed the

lines of Jefferson's Ordinance of 1784, from which it differed, among other things, in providing for the *immediate* abolition of slavery. As the act applied only to territory north of the Ohio, and as, moreover, it contained a provision for the return of fugitive slaves, the Southern States offered no opposition, and it was adopted by the unanimous vote of the States.

Oregon was acquired by purchase from France in 1803. (*See Annexations I.*) Its southern boundary was defined by the Treaty of 1819 with Spain (*see Annexations II.*), and its northern boundary by the convention of 1846. (*See Northwest Boundary.*) It was organized as a Territory, including what are now Washington and Idaho Territories, in 1848. On February 14, 1859, it was admitted to the Union. The capital is Salem. The population in 1880 was 174,768, and in the last census (1890) 313,767. Oregon is entitled to only one seat in the House of Representatives, and has three electoral votes. It is Republican, though not by large majorities. (*See Electoral Commission.*) Its name is of Spanish origin, and means "wild thyme." (*See Governors; Legislatures.*)

Oregon Boundary. (*See Northwest Boundary.*)

Orleans, Territory of. (*See Territories.*)

Ossawattomie Brown; or, John Brown, of Ossawattomie.—A name which John Brown acquired while in Kansas. His sons had settled near the village of Ossawattomie, in that State, and here he joined them. (*See Brown, John.*)

Ostend Manifesto.—The expeditions of Lopez in 1850 and 1851 to assist the Cubans in their revolutionary plans, and Secretary of State Everett's declination in 1852 to engage with France and England in the proposed Tripartite Treaty (*see Filibusters and Tripartite Treaty*), attracted much attention to the question of annexing Cuba to the United States. President Pierce in 1854 directed our ministers to Great Britain, France and Spain—James Buchanan, John Y. Mason and Pierre Soulé—to meet and consider the subject. Accordingly they met at Ostend,

in Belgium, whence they adjourned to Aix la Chapelle. From this place, in October, 1854, they addressed a letter to our government declaring that the purchase of Cuba would be advantageous, both to Spain and to the United States, but urging that if the island could not be acquired by purchase it was advisable, and would be justifiable for our own protection, to seize it. This dispatch is known as the Ostend Manifesto and was chiefly the work of Buchanan. No practical results followed. In 1856 it was denounced by the Republican platform and not defended by the Democratic. But the latter party in 1860 advised the acquisition of Cuba by purchase.

Our Country is the World—Our Countrymen are all Mankind.—One of the mottoes of the abolition newspaper, *The Liberator*. (*See Abolitionists.*)

Our Country, Right or Wrong.—At a dinner in Norfolk, Virginia, in 1816, Commodore Stephen Decatur gave the following toast: "Our country! In her intercourse with foreign nations may she always be in the right; but our country, right or wrong."

Our Federal Union, It Must be Preserved.—On April 13, 1830, a dinner was given in the city of Washington in honor of Jefferson's birthday. One of its objects was, if possible, to commit the Democratic party to the doctrine of nullification. The regular toasts had been adapted to that end, but when they were over a call on Jackson for a toast of his own, drew out the above.

Our Lives, Our Fortunes and Our Sacred Honor.—These are the closing words of the Declaration of Independence, which is from the pen of Thomas Jefferson.

Our Own Evarts.—A name by which William M. Evarts, of New York, is known.

Pacific Blockade is a blockade enforced while there is no war existing between the blockading and the blockaded countries. It is hardly justified by international law, but is sometimes employed as a coercive measure by a powerful nation against a weak one.

Pacific Mail Subsidies. (*See Subsidies.*)

Pairs.—An agreement between two members of a legislative body, that would have voted on opposite sides of a question, for each to abstain from voting, is called a pair; the result is thus left unaffected and one or both of the members is enabled to be absent.

Pacific Railroads.—This name is applied collectively to various railroads, as stated below, to which the aid of the national government was extended in order to facilitate railroad connection between the Pacific coast and the remainder of the country. Such communication had long been regarded as necessary to prevent a gradual utter divergence of interests between these sections and consequent ultimate separation. As early as 1846 the scheme had been broached. In 1855 surveys were made, and in 1860 both of the great political parties recommended government aid to the project. In 1862 an act was accordingly passed granting to the companies five sections of public land and $16,000 in government bonds for every mile constructed, the land and bonds for every stretch of forty miles to be turned over to the company only on the completion of such stretch. For different portions of the route the grants of bonds varied, some being as high as $48,000 per mile for the more difficult. On the other hand, all transportation or other service performed for the government was to be applied to its reimbursement for the principal and interest of the bonds so issued. Meanwhile the bonds were to be a first lien on all the property of the company. In 1864 the grant of land per constructed mile was increased from five to ten sections. (*See Land Grants.*) The stretch of forty miles required to be completed each time before bonds and land on any part of it were granted, was reduced to twenty miles, and the company was authorized to issue bonds not exceeding the amount of the government bonds, the mortgage of the latter in favor of the government to be postponed to that of the new bonds; moreover, it was provided that only one-half of the value of the company's services to the government was to be retained to extinguish the debt; the other half was to be paid in cash

to the company. The Union Pacific Road was built westward over the mountains, and the Central Pacific Road was built eastward from Sacramento. These two lines were joined, with impressive ceremonies, at Promontory Point, Utah, May 10, 1869. The last tie, of laurel wood, with a plate of silver upon it, was laid, and the last spike, made of iron, silver, and gold, was driven in the presence of distinguished men. The officers of the road, and a large concourse of visitors from East and West were present. Telegraph wires were attached to the last rail, and the last blows were signaled upon bells in Washington and other large cities. In many places large crowds had gathered to receive the first intimation conveyed almost instantaneously over the electric wires, that the great work was complete. When the signal was received in San Francisco and elsewhere all the church bells were rung, and cannon were fired.

In May, 1878, an act, known as the Thurman Act, was passed, prescribing more stringent terms for the repayment of government advances. In addition to the amounts retained out of sums due for government service, the Act of 1862 provided for the payment of five per cent. of the net earnings of the company. The Act of 1878 retained the entire amount due to the companies for government service, one-half to be applied to interest payments, one-half to form a sinking fund for the principal, and it required, moreover, the annual payment of a fixed sum ($850,000 for the Union Pacific and $1,200,000 for the Central Pacific), or so much thereof as might be necessary to make the total obtained by adding the five per cent. of net earnings and the whole of the compensation retained, equal to twenty-five per cent. of the net earnings. The method of computing the net earnings was prescribed, and it was provided that the additional payments thus required were not to be exacted unless the net earnings were sufficient to meet the interest on the bonds prior in lien to the government mortgage.

Panic of 1837 and Wild-Cat Banks.—After the closing up of the United States banks in 1832, and the transfer of its deposits to State banks, there was a great increase in the number of small banks, especially in the South and West, where the influx of population was a constant stimulus to the desire for speculation. The scarcity of capital in those regions made it easy to put in circulation anything that purported to be money. Thus, any enterprising individual could, with a very limited capital, or indeed with no capital at all, open a bank, issue $10,000 or more in small notes, and pass them over in easy loans to land speculators. Another way of playing the same game was to nominally establish the headquarters of a bank in a remote or inaccessible point in the State, say of Georgia or Illinois, where the bills purported to be issued and to be payable. The real place of business, however, for the circulation of the notes of the bank was a distant city, New Orleans, perhaps, or Buffalo. These institutions were called wild-cat banks, and this mode of doing business wild-cat banking. It took only about four years of this method of swindling to bring on the crash of 1837, one of the most painful and prolonged crises in our financial history.

Pan Electric Scandal.—The Pan Electric Company is a company claiming patents which would be valuable if the Bell Telephone patents were declared invalid. The promoters of the scheme are alleged to have distributed some of the stock among Senators in order to secure, if possible, legislation favorably affecting their company. A. H. Garland, at that time Attorney-General, received some of this stock while Senator, it is charged, and when the Pan Electric Company applied to the Attorney-General to begin suit in the name of the United States government for the annulment of the Bell patents, comment was naturally rife. The application was heard by the Solicitor-General, the Attorney-General being on a vacation, and after mature delibera-

tion favorably decided. The holding of this stock by the Senators had previously been the subject of inquiry by a congressional committee.

Panics. (*See Commercial Crises.*)

Paper Blockade. (*See Blockade.*)

Pardon.—A pardon in its legal sense is the remission of the penalty imposed for the commission of a crime. When partial it is called a commutation of sentence. The effect of a full pardon is to restore the criminal to all his rights and privileges as a citizen. It is regarded as a deed and must be accepted to be valid. It cannot, however, be recalled when once made complete by delivery and acceptance. The pardoning power is inherent in the sovereign. In the United States the power of granting pardons for offences against federal laws is delegated to the President. In the States it is usually given to the Governor, but it may be left to the Legislature, or entrusted to a Court of Pardons, as in New Jersey.

Paris Monetary Conference.—There have been three such conferences. I. The Conference of 1867 met in Paris, June 17, 1867, at the invitation of France. The United States was represented by Samuel B. Ruggles, of New York. The Conference voted in favor of the single gold standard, "leaving each State the liberty to keep its silver standard temporarily," and also in favor of the five-franc gold piece of France as the common denominator for an international coinage. The conclusions of the Conference were to be referred to the governments taking part in it. The answers were to be sent to France, to which nation the power of re-assembling the Conference was given. The Conference adjourned July 6th. It was not re-assembled. II. The Act of Congress of 1878, authorizing the coinage of the standard silver dollar (*see Coinage*), directed the President to invite the European governments to a conference for the purpose of fixing the relative value of gold and silver, and of promoting international bi-metallism. The Conference assembled in Paris, August 16, 1878, the United States being represented by Reuben E. Fen-

ton, of New York; W. S. Groesbeck, of Ohio; Francis A. Walker, of Connecticut, and S. Dana Horton, Secretary. The Conference voted that silver as well as gold was necessary for use as money, but that all questions connected with its adoption as a standard alone, or together with gold, ought to be left to each country to settle for itself; that the restriction of the coinage of silver was similarly a question for the determination of each nation for itself, and that the establishment of a fixed ratio between the two metals was impossible, in view of the differences of opinion that prevailed. The Conference adjourned August 29th. III. The Conference of 1881 was called by France and the United States for the purpose of devising a plan for the establishment "of the use of gold and silver as bi-metallic money," and of fixing a ratio between these metals. The Conference met at Paris April 19, 1881. S. Dana Horton again represented the United States, as did also William M. Evarts, of New York; Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio, and Timothy O. Howe, of Wisconsin. After considerable discussion the delegates of France and the United States declared their belief that the fluctuations in the relative value of silver and gold were injurious to commerce, that free coinage (*see Bi-Metallism*) of gold and silver by the principal commercial countries would give the stability desired. That the ratio of 15½ to 1 was the ratio best adapted to the purpose, and that the agreement of England, France, Germany and the United States would suffice to insure the success of any such combination. An adjournment was requested to give time for diplomatic negotiations, and it was voted to adjourn until April 12, 1882. The Conference never re-assembled.

Particularists were those American Whigs that, in the early history of our government, feared that the federal government would be unduly strengthened to the detriment of the independence of the States.

Party Conventions. (*See Nominating Conventions.*)

Patriot War. (*See Canadian Rebellion.*)

Paternalism means the system of government that, instead of confining its attention to the preservation of order and the enforcement of justice, descends to the regulation of the details in the life of an individual. These, experience has shown, can best be left to the individual himself. As the term implies it is fatherly care and supervision over the individual by the state. One of the most highly developed examples thereof is the German Empire of to-day.

Pathfinder.—A popular name given to John C. Fremont, in allusion to his success as an explorer.

Patronage. (*See Civil Service Reform.*)

Patrons of Husbandry. (*See Grangers.*)

Patrons of Industry. (*See Grangers.*)

Patton Resolutions. (*See Gag Laws.*)

Pauper Labor is a phrase which we hear chiefly in connection with a discussion of free trade and protection, the advocates of the latter doctrine maintaining that protective duties are necessary to prevent the competition between American labor and so-called European pauper labor. The lower wages and less comfortable position of laborers abroad has led to the adoption of the phrase. It came into use about 1842 and has been reiterated ever since.

Peace Conference, Congress or Convention.—In January, 1861, several States having already seceded, Virginia issued an invitation to the other States of the Union to send delegates to a conference to be held at Washington for the purpose of devising a plan for the peaceable settlement of the existing difficulties. The Conference met February 4th, fourteen free States and seven slave States being represented. The voting was by States. Ex-President John Tyler was chosen to preside. A committee of one from each State was appointed to report "what they may deem right, necessary and proper to restore harmony and preserve the Union." There were several minority reports: the majority report was, however, adopted. It recommended several amendments to the Constitution, as follows: 1. In the Territories north of thirty-six degrees, thirty minutes

slavery was to be prohibited. In Territories south of that line the institution was to remain as it then was, and no law was to be passed abridging the right of a man to take his slave thither. The status of new States was to be determined by the Constitution adopted by them. 2. No new territory was to be acquired except by discovery or for naval and commercial stations or depots, without the concurrence of a majority of the Senators from the free States *and* a majority of the Senators from the slave States. 3. Neither the Constitution nor any amendment thereof was to be construed as giving Congress power to interfere with slavery in any State; nor to abolish it in the District of Columbia without the consent of the State of Maryland and of the owners, nor without compensation to the latter; nor to prohibit representatives and others from taking their slaves to the District and bringing them away again; nor to prohibit slavery in any place under the jurisdiction of the United States, if within a slave State; nor to prohibit the inland slave trade between slave States, but not in or through free States. The slave trade in the District was prohibited. Section 4 provided for the delivery of fugitive slaves, section 5 for the prohibition of the foreign slave trade, section 7 for the payment to owners by the United States of the value of slaves that might escape by reason of the interference of mobs with federal officers, and for "securing to the citizens of each State the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States," while section 6 ordained that sections 1, 3 and 5 and Article 1, section 2, clause 3, and Article 4, section 2, clause 3, of the Constitution were to be amended or abolished only by the unanimous consent of the States. This plan was introduced into the Senate, but was voted down, and in the House it likewise failed. It was satisfactory to neither party.

Peace Organization. (*See American Knights.*)

Peace with Dishonor. (*See War, the, a Failure.*)

Peanut Politics is an expression used to indicate political acts having in view some peculiarly small party advantage.

Pendleton Bill. (*See Civil Service Reform.*)

Pennsylvania was one of the original States of the Union. The capital is Harrisburg. The population in 1880 was 4,282,891, and in the last census (1890) 5,258,014. Pennsylvania is entitled to twenty-eight seats in the House of Representatives and to thirty electoral votes. It is Republican in national politics. It was named after William Penn, its founder. Popularly it is called the Keystone State, because it occupies the place of the keystone in an arch representing the thirteen original States. (*See Governors; Legislatures.*)

Pennsylvania of the West.—A name applied to the State of Missouri.

People's Party.—In 1884 Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts, was nominated for the presidency by the Anti-Monopoly party at Chicago, May 14th, and by the Greenback-Labor party at its convention in Indianapolis, May 27th and 28th. This common ticket of the two parties was known as the People's party.

Pensions.—A pension is a regular payment of money to a person by the government in consideration of past services in its employ. Pensions were formerly granted in the United States only to enlisted men of the army or navy who had suffered during our various wars, except in a few special instances. But in 1869 an act was passed providing pensions at the rate of their salary to United States judges who have served ten years and resigned at seventy years or upward. Pensions have also been granted to the widows of former Presidents, Mrs. Lincoln, Mrs. Garfield, Mrs. Polk and Mrs. Tyler. Employes in the life-saving service, in the quartermaster's and paymaster's departments, and nurses have also received them. Private pension bills are often passed, but by far the largest number of pensioners of the United States are such under general laws. As early as 1806 the United States had adopted a system of pensions for those who had become disabled in its military and naval services. In 1818 the system was extended to persons in reduced circumstances who had served at least nine months at any period of the Revo-

lution, whether disabled or not. Abuses at once began to be apparent, and many persons received money who were not entitled to it. From that time till the period of the Civil War, the general rule in the many successive pension acts that were passed was to extend the government's bounty. Since 1862 the pension laws have been more numerous and generous than ever, especially for the last few years, when a surplus in the national treasury has made Congress liberal in the extreme. One of the most conspicuous of these laws was the "Arrears of Pensions Act," approved by President Hayes on January 25, 1879. It provided for the payment of pensions from the date of discharge or disability, and not from the date of application, as previous laws had provided in case the claim was not made within a certain time. The political parties seem of late years to be afraid of alienating the votes of soldiers if they refuse to pass the most extravagant laws. This particular bill was a measure rushed through by the claim agents almost without debate, and has given rise to countless abuses. Widows (till remarriage) of soldiers or sailors who have died of wounds contracted in the line of duty in the United States service, children under sixteen, and mothers, and sisters under sixteen, who were dependent on the deceased, are entitled to a pension in the above order of priority. Only one full pension is allowed, and if it goes to children or to sisters, it is equally divided between them. It is impossible to enumerate all the causes for which pensions are granted, or the circumstances under which they are allowed. The United States is probably the most liberal nation in the world in this respect. The Forty-ninth Congress passed a multitude of private pension bills, most of which were vetoed by President Cleveland, and only one of which was passed over his veto. The amount paid by the government in pensions in 1791 was $175,813.88. The smallest amount paid in one year was $62,902.10, in 1803; the largest was $118,548,959.71, in 1891. The largest amount paid up to the Civil War was $4,589,152.40, in 1833. The following table shows the number

of pensioners on the roll, and the disbursements on account of pensions since 1861 :

Fiscal Year Ending June 30.	Number of Pensioners on Roll.	Disbursements.
1861	8,636	$ 1,072,461 55
1862	8,159	790,384 76
1863	14,791	1,025,139 91
1864	51,135	4,504,616 92
1865	85,986	8,525,1[illegible]3 11
1866	126,722	13,459,996 43
1867	153,183	18,619,956 46
1868	169,643	24,010,981 99
1869	187,693	28,4[illegible]2,884 08
1870	198,686	27,780,811 81
1871	207,495	33,077 383 63
1872	232,229	30,169,341 00
1873	238,411	29,185,289 62
1874	236,241	30,593,749 56
1875	234,821	29,683,116 63
1876	232,137	28,351,599 69
1877	232,104	28,580,157 04
1878	223,998	26,844,415 18
1879	242,755	33,780,526 19
1880	250,802	57,240,540 14
1881	268,830	50,626,538 51
1882	285,697	54,296,280 54
1883	303,658	60,431,972 85
1884	322,756	57,273,536 74
1885	345,125	65,693,706 72
1886	365,783	64,584,270 45
1887	406,007	74,815,486 85
1888	452,557	76,646,146 37
1889	489,725	89,131,968 44
1890	537,944	106,493,890 19
1891	676,160	118,548,959 71
Total		$1,274,261,264 07

Pernicious Activity.—On July 14, 1886, President Cleveland directed a circular letter "to the heads of departments in the service of the general government," warning them and their subordinates against using "their official positions in attempts to control political movements in their localities." The letter contained the following sentence: "Office-holders are neither disfranchised nor forbidden the exercise of political privileges; but their privileges are not enlarged, nor is their duty to party increased to pernicious activity by office-holding."

Personal Liberty Laws.—A name given to laws passed by many of the Northern States for the purpose of impeding the operation of "fugitive slave laws."

They generally forbade the use of State jails for the purposes of the fugitive slave laws; forbade the State magistrates to act under them; provided counsel for the fugitives, and secured to them trial by jury and the benefit of "habeas corpus." The fugitive slave law of 1850 placed its operation entirely in the hands of federal officers. Changes were made in the personal liberty laws to correspond to the increased stringency of the laws of 1850. Most of the Northern States passed acts of this nature, and thus was the Compromise of 1850 met in the North. This was one of the main grievances that at this time so increased Southern bitterness against the North.

Personal Liberty Party.—The strict enforcement in New York of laws directed against the sale of liquor on Sundays, caused the formation there of an organization favoring the abolition of such restrictions on the sale of liquor as are deemed to conflict with the liberty of the individual, that is, the total prohibition of its sale on Sunday. This organization took the name of Personal Liberty Party, and in New York, on October 6, 1887, adopted a platform declaring that laws of the above description have notoriously failed to improve morality while they interfere with the personal liberty of the individual, and citing as people whose habits of life are thus interfered with the German element of our population who are "assiduous, temperate and law abiding people."

Personation is a fraud practiced in elections and consists in voting under different names at the same polling place.

Peruvian Guano Troubles.—In the early part of 1881 Chili had practically brought Peru to her feet in a war which the two countries had been waging against each other. Chili seemed inclined to press for a cession of the southern part of Peru as part of the war indemnity. This region is especially rich in guano deposits which have been found to be very valuable. Claims for discovering these deposits—the two principal ones being known as the Landreau and Cochet Claims—had for many years been pressed on the Peruvian government

without success, though the government had virtually acknowledged their justice. At this time they were owned by Americans, who, fearing that their claims would be hopeless if the territory should be transferred to Chili, sought the aid of our government to prevent Chili from acquiring the territory; it is asserted that the diplomacy of Blaine, Secretary of State at the time, was exerted in favor of this scheme, by reason of which fact he is sometimes referred to as the "guano statesman," and his foreign plans as a "guano policy." Our Minister to Peru, General Stephen A. Hurlbut, seems to have threatened the displeasure of the United States should Chili insist on the cession. This was unwarranted, even by Blaine's instructions, and of course unjustified by the rules of international comity in a war with which we had nothing to do. When, however, Chili arrested Calderon, the President of that one of the two conflicting governments in Peru which we had recognized, President Arthur in December, 1881, sent a special envoy, William H. Trescott, of South Carolina, accompanied by Walker Blaine, son of the Secretary of State, to the scene of the difficulties. Blaine's instructions to Trescott implied that the administration felt some reason to suppose that Chili had intentionally offended us by the arrest of Calderon, and that we had determined to assume a severer tone with Chili. About this time Frelinghuysen succeeded Blaine. He revoked part of Blaine's instructions to Trescott and ordered a more pacific course, and Trescott was soon recalled. Chili subsequently secured the coveted territory. It is asserted by some that government officials were interested in the guano claims and secured the following of a policy, so long as Blaine was Secretary, that must soon have plunged us into a war with Chili, had not a more pacific tone been adopted and our interference with Chili been brought to an end.

Pet Banks.—A name applied to the State banks in which United States funds were deposited by President Jackson after he had removed these funds from the United States Bank.

Petition of Right.—The arbitrary course of action of Charles I., of England, led Parliament in 1628 to draw up a "petition of right," which demanded that the king should not levy taxes without the consent of Parliament, nor try the people by court martial, nor imprison any one without due process of law. Charles agreed to it, and the liberties which had been secured to Englishmen by Magna Charta were thus confirmed and enlarged. The Petition of Right is one of the steps by which English-speaking people secured their protection from tyrannical acts of the government. (*See Magna Charta; Bill of Rights.*)

Petition, Right of.—The right of petition is a right antedating the Constitution. It is embodied in Magna Charta, and again in the English Bill of Rights. It was a part of the common law in this country at the time of the adoption of the Constitution. The First Amendment to that instrument created no new right by providing that "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging . . . the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for a redress of grievances." It simply declared an old right, and guarded it from interference on the part of Congress. The power to protect the right was not taken from the States. That power had resided in them, and it was left in their hands. Citizens must look to the State governments for its enforcement. But the right is implied in the idea of a republican government, and is therefore guaranteed by the national government (Constitution, Article 4, section 4). Minnesota, Virginia and West Virginia are the only States whose Constitutions make no mention of the right. A petitioner is not guilty of libel on account of the facts recited in his petition, even if these be false, unless malice is proven. Before December 12, 1853, all petitions to the House of Representatives were presented in the House, and the introduction of petitions relating to the abolition of slavery led to heated debates, and between 1836 and 1844 to rules that practically nullified the right. (*See Gag Laws.*) On the above date the rules were modified

so that now petitions are endorsed with the name of the member presenting them and the committee to which they are to be referred; they are sent to the clerk, who enters them in full on the journal and transmits them to the proper committee; they appear in the *Congressional Record.*

Pewter Muggers was a name given to a faction of the Democratic party in New York City about 1828, in which year, with the help of the Adams men (the administration party) and the anti-Masons, they defeated the Tammany candidates for several important offices. The name originated from the resort in Frankfort Street which the leaders of the faction patronized extensively.

Pierce, Franklin, was born at Hillsborough, New Hampshire, November 23, 1804, and died at Concord, New Hampshire, October 8, 1869. He was a lawyer and a graduate of Bowdoin. In politics he was a Democrat. He was a member of the State Legislature from 1829 to 1833, and a Congressman from 1833 to 1837. From 1837 to 1842 he was a Senator. During the Mexican War he held a commission as major-general and saw some active service. In 1852 he was elected President. The principal events of his administration were the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, the Gadsden Purchase and the exploits of filibusters. He retired to private life at the expiration of his term. He was an anti-war Democrat during the Civil War.

Pinckney's Resolutions. (*See Gag Laws.*)

Pivotal State.—Any State upon the result of whose vote an election depends (the votes of the other States being so equally divided) is called a pivotal state. The title has been more particularly earned by New York, which in every presidential election, in any way doubtful, has been carried by but small pluralities or majorities. Thus in 1884 a different result in New York would have meant a different result in the election of President, and the successful party carried New York by but 1,047 plurality, in a total of 1,150,000.

Platforms, Party.—The platform of a political party is the public declaration of the principles that the

party represents. Below are given the national platforms adopted in 1884 by the principal parties. For the platforms of 1896. see *Appendix.*

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM.

Adopted at Chicago, July 10, 1884.

The Democratic party of the Union, through its representatives in National Convention assembled, recognizes that as the nation grows older new issues are born of time and progress, and old issues perish. But the fundamental principles of the Democracy, approved by the united voice of the people, remain, and will ever remain, as the best and only security for the continuance of free government. The preservation of personal rights, the equality of all citizens before the law, the reserved rights of the States, and the supremacy of the federal government within the limits of the Constitution, will ever form the true basis of our liberties, and can never be surrendered without destroying that balance of rights and powers which enables a continent to be developed in peace, and social order to be maintained by means of local self-government.

But it is indispensable for the practical application and enforcement of these fundamental principles that the government should not always be controlled by one political party. Frequent change of administration is as necessary as constant recurrence to popular will. Otherwise abuses grow, and the government, instead of being carried on for the general welfare, becomes an instrumentality for imposing heavy burdens on the many who are governed, for the benefit of the few who govern. Public servants thus become arbitrary rulers.

This is now the condition of the country. Hence a change is demanded. The Republican party, so far as principle is concerned, is a reminiscence; in practice, it is an organization for enriching those who control its machinery. The frauds and jobbery which have been brought to light in every department of the government are sufficient to have called for reform within the Republican party; yet those in authority, made reckless by the long possession of power, have succumbed to its corrupting influence, and have placed in nomination a ticket against which the independent portion of the party are in open revolt.

Therefore a change is demanded. Such a change was alike necessary in 1876, but the will of the people was then defeated by a fraud which can never be forgotten nor condoned. Again, in 1880, the change demanded by the people was defeated by the lavish use of money contributed by unscrupulous contractors and shameless jobbers, who had bargained for unlawful profits or for high office.

The Republican party, during its legal, its stolen and its bought tenures of power, has speedily decayed in moral character and political capacity.

Its platform promises are now a list of its past failures.

It demands the restoration of our navy. It has squandered hundreds of millions to create a navy that does not exist.

It calls upon Congress to remove the burdens under which American shipping has been depressed. It imposed and has continued those burdens.

It professes the policy of reserving the public lands for small holdings by actual settlers. It has given away the people's heritage till now a few railroads and non-resident aliens, individual and corporate, possess a larger area than that of all our farms between the two seas.

It professes a preference for free institutions. It organized and tried to legalize a control of State elections by federal troops.

It professes a desire to elevate labor. It has subjected American workingmen to the competition of convict and imported contract labor.

It professes gratitude to all who were disabled or died in the war, leaving widows and orphans. It left to a Democratic House of Representatives the first effort to equalize both bounties and pensions.

It proffers a pledge to correct the irregularities of our tariff. It created and has continued them. Its own Tariff Commission confessed the need of more than twenty per cent. reduction. Its Congress gave a reduction of less than four per cent.

It professes the protection of American manufactures. It has subjected them to an increasing flood of manufactured goods and a hopeless competition with manufacturing nations, not one of which taxes raw materials.

It professes to protect all American industries. It has impoverished many to subsidize a few.

It professes the protection of American labor. It has depleted the returns of American agriculture—an industry followed by half our people.

It professes the equality of all men before the law. Attempting to fix the status of colored citizens, the acts of its Congress were overset by the decisions of its courts.

It "accepts anew the duty of leading in the work of progress and reform." Its caught criminals are permitted to escape through contrived delays of actual connivance in the prosecution. Honey-combed with corruption, outbreaking exposures no longer shock its moral sense. Its honest members, its independent journals no longer maintain a successful contest for authority in its counsels, or a veto upon bad nominations.

That change is necessary is proved by an existing surplus of more than $100,000,000, which has yearly been collected from a suffering people. Unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation. We denounce the Republican party for having failed to relieve the people from crushing war taxes which have paralyzed business, crippled industry and deprived labor of employment and of just reward.

The Democracy pledges itself to purify the administration from corruption, to restore economy, to revive respect for law, and to reduce taxation to the lowest limit consistent with due regard to the preservation of the faith of the nation to its creditors and pensioners.

Knowing full well, however, that legislation affecting the occupations of the people should be cautious and conservative in method—not in advance of public opinion, but responsive

to its demands—the Democratic party is pledged to revise the tariff in a spirit of fairness to all interests.

But in making reduction in taxes it is not proposed to injure any domestic industries, but rather to promote their healthy growth. From the foundation of this government taxes collected at the Custom House have been the chief source of federal revenue. Such they must continue to be. Moreover, many industries have come to rely upon legislation for successful continuance, so that any change of law must be at every step regardful of the labor and capital thus involved. The process of reform must be subject in the execution of this plain dictate of justice.

All taxation shall be limited to the requirements of economical government. The necessary reduction in taxation can, and must, be effected without depriving American labor of the ability to compete successfully with foreign labor, and without imposing lower rates of duty than will be ample to cover any increased cost of production which may exist in consequence of the higher rate of wages prevailing in this country.

Sufficient revenue to pay all the expenses of the federal government, economically administered, including pensions, interest and principal of the public debt, can be got under our present system of taxation from Custom House taxes on fewer imported articles, bearing heaviest on articles of luxury, and bearing lightest on articles of necessity.

We therefore denounce the abuses of the existing tariff, and, subject to the preceding limitations, we demand that Federal taxation shall be exclusively for public purposes, and shall not exceed the needs of the government economically administered.

The system of direct taxation known as "internal revenue" is a war tax, and so long as the law continues the money derived therefrom should be sacredly devoted to the relief of the people from the remaining burdens of the war, and be made a fund to defray the expenses of the care and comfort of worthy soldiers disabled in the line of duty in the wars of the Republic, and for the payment of such pensions as Congress may from time to time grant to such soldiers, a like fund for the sailors having been already provided, and any surplus should be paid into the treasury.

We favor an American continental policy based upon more intimate commercial and political relations with the fifteen sister Republics of North, Central and South America, but entangling alliances with none.

We believe in honest money, the gold and silver coinage of the Constitution, and a circulating medium convertible into such money without loss.

Asserting the equality of all men before the law, we hold that it is the duty of the government, in its dealings with the people, to mete out equal and exact justice to all citizens of whatever nativity, race, color or persuasion—religious or political.

We believe in a free ballot and a fair count, and we recall to the memory of the people the noble struggle of the Democrats in the Forty-fifth and Forty-sixth Congresses, by which a re-

luctant Republican opposition was compelled to assent to legislation making everywhere illegal the presence of troops at the polls, as the conclusive proof that a Democratic administration will preserve liberty with order.

The selection of federal officers for the Territories should be restricted to citizens previously resident therein.

We oppose sumptuary laws which vex the citizen and interfere with individual liberty; we favor honest civil service reform, and the compensation of all United States officers by fixed salaries; the separation of church and state, and the diffusion of free education by common schools, so that every child in the land may be taught the rights and duties of citizenship.

While we favor all legislation that will tend to the equitable distribution of property, to the prevention of monopoly, and to the strict enforcement of individual rights against corporate abuses, we hold that the welfare of society depends upon a scrupulous regard for the rights of property as defined by law.

We believe that labor is best rewarded where it is freest and most enlightened. It should, therefore, be fostered and cherished. We favor the repeal of all laws restricting the free action of labor, and the enactment of laws by which labor organizations may be incorporated, and of all such legislation as will tend to enlighten the people as to the true relations of capital and labor.

We believe that the public lands ought, as far as possible, be kept as homesteads for actual settlers; that all unearned lands heretofore improvidently granted to railroad corporations by the action of the Republican party, should be restored to the public domain, and that no more grants of land shall be made to corporations or be allowed to fall into the ownership of alien absentees.

We are opposed to all propositions which, upon any pretext, would convert the general government into a machine for collecting taxes to be distributed among the States or the citizens thereof.

In reaffirming the declaration of the Democratic platform of 1856, that "the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned by the Constitution, which makes ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith," we nevertheless do not sanction the importation of foreign labor, or the admission of servile races, unfitted by habits, training, religion, or kindred for absorption into the great body of our people, or for the citizenship which our laws confer. American civilization demands that against the immigration or importation of Mongolians to these shores our gates be closed.

The Democratic party insists that it is the duty of this government to protect, with equal fidelity and vigilance, the rights of its citizens, native and naturalized, at home and abroad, and to the end that this protection may be assured, United States papers of naturalization, issued by courts of competent jurisdiction, must be respected by the executive and legislative departments of our own government, and by all foreign powers.

It is an imperative duty of this government to efficiently protect all the rights of persons and property of every American citizen in foreign lands, and demand and enforce full reparation for any invasion thereof.

An American citizen is only responsible to his own government for any act done in his own country, or under her flag, and can only be tried therefor on her own soil and according to her own laws, and no power exists in this government to expatriate an American citizen to be tried in any foreign land for any such act.

This country has never had a well-defined and executed foreign policy, save under Democratic administration; that policy has ever been, in regard to foreign nations, so long as they do not act detrimental to the interests of the country, or hurtful to our citizens, to let them alone; that as the result of this policy we recall the acquisition of Louisiana, Florida, California, and of the adjacent Mexican territory by purchase alone; and contrast these grand acquisitions of Democratic statesmanship with the purchase of Alaska, the sole fruit of a Republican administration of nearly a quarter of a century.

The federal government should care for and improve the Mississippi River and other great waterways of the Republic, so as to secure for the interior States easy and cheap transportation to tide-water.

Under a long period of Democratic rule and policy our merchant marine was fast overtaking and on the point of outstripping that of Great Britain.

Under twenty years of Republican rule and policy our commerce has been left to British bottoms, and almost has the American flag been swept off the high seas.

Instead of the Republican party's British policy, we demand for the people of the United States an American policy.

Under Democratic rule and policy our merchants and sailors, flying the stars and stripes in every port, successfully searched out a market for the varied products of American industry.

Under a quarter of a century of Republican rule and policy, despite our manifest advantages over all other nations in high-paid labor, favorable climates and teeming soils; despite freedom of trade among all these United States; despite their population by the foremost races of men and an annual immigration of the young, thrifty and adventurous of all nations; despite our freedom here from the inherited burdens of life and industry in old-world monarchies—their costly war navies, their vast tax-consuming, non-producing standing armies; despite their twenty years of peace—that Republican rule and policy have managed to surrender to Great Britain, along with our commerce, the control of the markets of the world.

Instead of the Republican party's British policy, we demand, in behalf of the American Democracy, an American policy.

Instead of the Republican party's discredited scheme and false pretense of friendship for American labor, expressed by imposing taxes, we demand, in behalf of the Democracy, freedom for American labor by reducing taxes to the end that these United States may compete with unhindered powers

for the primacy among nations in all the arts of peace and fruits of liberty.

With profound regret we have been apprised by the venerable statesman through whose person was struck that blow at the vital principle of republics (acquiesence in the will of the majority), that he cannot permit us again to place in his hands the leadership of the Democratic hosts, for the reason that the achievement of reform in the administration of the federal government is an undertaking now too heavy for his age and failing strength.

Rejoicing that his life has been prolonged until the general judgment of our fellow-countrymen is united in the wish that that wrong were righted in his person, for the Democracy of the United States, we offer to him in his withdrawal from public cares, not only our respectful sympathy and esteem, but also that best homage of freemen, the pledge of our devotion to the principles and the cause now inseparable in the history of this Republic from the labors and the name of Samuel J. Tilden.

With this statement of the hopes, principles and purposes of the Democratic party, the great issue of reform and change in administration is submitted to the people in calm confidence, that the popular voice will pronounce in favor of new men, and new and more favorable conditions for the growth of industry, the extension of trade, the employment and due reward of labor and of capital, and the general welfare of the whole country.

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

Adopted at Chicago, June 5, 1884.

The Republicans of the United States, in convention assembled, renew their allegiance to the principles upon which they have triumphed in six successive presidential elections, and congratulate the American people on the attainment of so many results in legislation and administration by which the Republican party has, after saving the Union, done so much to render its institutions just, equal and beneficent—the safeguard of liberty and the best thought and highest purposes of our citizens. The Republican party has gained its strength by quick and faithful response to the demands of the people for the freedom and the equality of all men; for a united nation assuring the rights of all citizens; for the elevation of labor; for an honest currency; for purity in legislation, and for integrity and accountability in all departments of the government; and it accepts anew the duty of leading in the work of progress and reform.

We lament the death of President Garfield, whose sound statesmanship, long conspicuous in Congress, gave promise of a strong and successful administration, a promise fully realized during the short period of his office as President of the United States. His distinguished success in war and in peace has endeared him to the hearts of the American people.

In the administration of his office we recognize a wise, conservative and patriotic policy, under which the country has been blessed with remarkable prosperity, and we believe his eminent services are entitled to and will receive the hearty approval of every citizen. It is the first duty of a good government to protect the rights and promote the interests of its own people; the largest diversity of industry is most productive of general prosperity, and of the comfort and independence of the people.

We, therefore, demand that the imposition of duties on foreign imports shall be made not for "revenue only," but that, in raising the requisite revenues for the government, such duties shall be so levied as to afford security in our diversified industries and protection to the rights and wages of the laborer, to the end that active and intelligent labor, as well as capital, may have its just reward, and the laboring man his full share in the national prosperity.

Against the so-called economical system of the Democratic party, which would degrade our labor to the foreign standard, we enter our earnest protest; the Democratic party has failed completely to relieve the people of the burden of unnecessary taxation by a wise reduction of the surplus.

The Republican party pledges itself to correct the inequalities of the tariff and to reduce the surplus, not by the vicious and indiscriminate process of horizontal reduction, but by such methods as will relieve the tax-payer without injuring the laborer or the great productive interests of the country.

We recognize the importance of sheep husbandry in the United States, the serious depression which it is now experiencing and the danger threatening its future prosperity; and we, therefore, respect the demands of the representatives of this important agricultural interest for a readjustment of duty upon foreign wool in order that such industry shall have full and adequate protection.

We have always recommended the best money known to the civilized world, and we urge that an effort be made to unite all commercial nations in the establishment of the international standard, which shall fix for all the relative value of gold and silver coinage.

The regulation of commerce with foreign nations and between the States is one of the most important prerogatives of the general government, and the Republican party distinctly announces its purposes to support such legislation as will fully and efficiently carry out the constitutional power of Congress over inter-state commerce. The principle of the public regulation of railway corporations is a wise and salutary one for the protection of all classes of the people, and we favor legislation that shall prevent unjust discrimination and excessive charges for transportation, and that shall secure to the people and to the railways alike the fair and equal protection of the laws.

We favor the establishment of a national bureau of labor, the enforcement of the eight hour law, and a wise and judicious system of general education by adequate appropriation from the national revenues wherever the same is need.

We believe that everywhere the protection to a citizen of

American birth must be secured to citizens by American adoption, and we favor the settlement of national differences by international arbitration.

The Republican party, having its birth in a hatred of slave labor, and in a desire that all men may be free and equal, is unalterably opposed to placing our workingmen in competition with any form of servile labor, whether at home or abroad. In this spirit we denounce the importation of contract labor, whether from Europe or Asia, as an offense against the spirit of American institutions, and we pledge ourselves to sustain the present law restricting Chinese immigration, and to provide such further legislation as is necessary to carry out its purposes.

The reform of civil service, auspiciously begun under Republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system already established by law—to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the objects of existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided.

The public lands are a heritage of the people of the United States, and should be reserved as far as possible for small holdings by actual settlers. We are opposed to the acquisition of large tracts of these lands by corporations or individuals, especially where such holdings are in the hands of non-resident aliens, and we will endeavor to obtain such legislation as will tend to correct this evil.

We demand of Congress the speedy forfeiture of all land grants which have lapsed by reason of non-compliance with acts of incorporation, in all cases where there has been no attempt in good faith to perform the conditions of such grants.

The grateful thanks of the American people are due to the Union soldiers and sailors of the late war, and the Republican party stands pledged to suitable pensions to all who were disabled and for the widows and orphans of those who died in the war. The Republican party pledges itself to the repeal of the limitation contained in the Arrears Act of 1879, so that all invalid soldiers shall share alike, and their pensions shall begin with the date of disability or discharge, and not with the date of application.

The Republican party favors a policy which shall keep us from entangling alliances with foreign nations, and which shall give the right to expect that foreign nations shall refrain from meddling in America, and the policy which seeks peace can trade with all powers, but especially with those of the Western Hemisphere.

We demand the restoration of our navy to its old-time strength and efficiency, that it may in any sea protect the rights of American citizens and the interests of American commerce, and we call upon Congress to remove the burdens under which American shipping has been depressed, so that it may again be true that we have a commerce which leaves no

sea unexplored, and a navy which takes no law from superior force.

Resolved, That appointments by the President to offices in the Territories should be made from the bona fide citizens and residents of the Territories wherein they are to serve.

Resolved, That it is the duty of Congress to enact such laws as shall promptly and effectually suppress the system of polygamy within our territory, and divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power of the so-called Mormon Church, and that the law so enacted should be rigidly enforced by the civil authorities, if possible, and by the military if need be.

The people of the United States in their organized capacity constitute a nation and not a mere confederacy of States. The national government is supreme within the sphere of its national duty, but the States have reserved rights which should be faithfully maintained; each should be guarded with jealous care so that the harmony of our system of government may be preserved, and the Union kept inviolate.

The perpetuity of our institutions rests upon the maintenance of a free ballot, an honest count, and a correct return.

We denounce the fraud and violence practiced by the Democratic party in Southern States, by which the will of the voter is defeated, as dangerous to the preservation of free institutions, and we solemnly arraign the Democratic party as being the guilty recipient of the fruit of such fraud and violence.

We extend to the Republicans of the South, regardless of their former party affiliations, our cordial sympathy, and pledge them our most earnest efforts to promote the passage of such legislation as will secure to every citizen, of whatever race and color, the full and complete recognition, possession, and exercise of all civil and political rights.

GREENBACK NATIONAL PLATFORM.

Adopted at Indianapolis, May 28, 1884.

Eight years ago our young party met in this city for the first time, and proclaimed to the world its immortal principles, and placed before the American people as a presidential candidate that great philanthropist and spotless statesman, Peter Cooper. Since that convention our party has organized all over the Union, and through discussion and agitation has been educating the people to a sense of their rights and duties to themselves and their country. These labors have accomplished wonders. We now have a great, harmonious party, and thousands who believe in our principles in the ranks of other parties.

"We point with pride to our history." We forced the remonetization of the silver dollar; prevented the refunding of the public debt into long-time bonds; secured the payment of the bonds, until the "best banking system the world ever saw" for robbing the producer now totters because of its contracting foundation; we have stopped the squandering of our public domain upon corporations; we have stopped the whole-

sale destruction of the greenback currency, and secured a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States establishing forever the right of the people to issue their own money.

Notwithstanding all this, never in our history have the banks, land-grant railroads, and other monopolies, been more insolent in their demands for further privileges—still more class legislation. In this emergency the dominant parties are arrayed against the people and are the abject tools of the corporate monopolies.

In the last Congress they repealed over $12,000,000 of annual taxes for the banks, throwing the burden upon the people to pay or pay interest thereon.

Both old parties in the present Congress vie with each other in their efforts to further repeal taxes in order to stop the payment of the public debt, and save the banks whose charters they have renewed for twenty years. Notwithstanding the distress of business, the shrinkage of wages and panic, they persist in locking up on various pretexts, $400,000,000 of money, every dollar of which the people pay interest upon and need, and most of which should be promptly applied to pay bonds now payable.

The old parties are united—as they cannot agree what taxes to repeal—in efforts to squander the income of the government upon every pretext rather than pay the debt.

A bill has already passed the United States Senate making the banks a present of over $10,000,000 more of the people's money in order to enable them to levy a still greater burden of interest-taxes.

A joint effort is being made by the old party leaders to overthrow the sovereign constitutional power of the people to control their own financial affairs and issue their own money, in order to forever enslave the masses to bankers and other business. The House of Representatives has passed bills reclaiming nearly 100,000,000 acres of lands granted to and forfeited by railroad companies. These bills have gone to the Senate, a body composed largely of aristocratic millionaires who, according to their own party papers, generally purchase their elections in order to protect great monopolies which they represent. This body has thus far defied the people and the House, and refuses to act upon these bills in the interest of the people.

Therefore we, the National party of the United States, in national convention assembled, this 29th day of May, A. D. 1884, declare:

1. That we hold the late decision of the Supreme Court on the legal-tender question to use a full vindication of the theory which our party has always advocated on the right and authority of Congress over the issue of legal-tender notes, and we hereby pledge ourselves to uphold said decision and to defend the Constitution against alterations or amendments intended to deprive the people of any rights or privileges conferred by that instrument. We demand the issue of such money in sufficient quantities to supply the actual demand of trade and commerce, in accordance with the increase of population and the development of our industries. We demand the substitution of greenbacks for national bank notes

and the prompt payment of the public debt. We want that money which saved our country in time of war, and which has given it prosperity and happiness in peace. We condemn the retirement of the fractional currency and the small denomination of greenbacks and demand their restoration. We demand the issue of the hoards of money now locked up in the United States Treasury, by applying them to the payment of the public debt now due.

2. We denounce as dangerous to our Republican institutions, those methods and policies of the Democratic and Republican parties which have sanctioned or permitted the establishment of land, railroad, money and other gigantic corporate monopolies; and we demand such governmental action as may be necessary to take from such monopolies the powers they have so corruptly and unjustly usurped and restore them to the people, to whom they belong.

3. The public lands being the natural inheritance of the people, we denounce that policy which has granted to corporations vast tracts of land, and we demand that immediate and vigorous measures be taken to reclaim from such corporations, for the people's use and benefit, all such land grants as have been forfeited by reason of non-fulfilment of contract, or that may have been wrongfully acquired by corrupt legislation, and that such reclaimed lands and other public domain be henceforth held as a sacred trust, to be granted only to actual settlers in limited quantities; and we also demand that the alien ownership of land, individual or corporate, shall be prohibited.

4. We demand congressional regulation of inter-state commerce. We denounce "pooling," stock-watering and discrimination in rates and charges, and demand that Congress shall correct these abuses, even if necessary, by the construction of national railroads. We also demand the establishment of a government postal telegraph system.

5. All private property, all forms of money and obligations to pay money, should bear their just proportion of the public taxes. We demand a graduated income tax.

6. We demand the amelioration of the condition of labor by enforcing the sanitary law in industrial establishments, by the abolition of the convict labor system, by a rigid inspection of mines and factories, by a reduction of the hours of labor in industrial estsblishmeuts, by fostering educational institutions and by abolishing child labor.

7. We condemn all importations of contracted labor, made with a view of reducing to starvation wages the workingmen of this country, and demand laws for its prevention.

8. We insist upon a constitutional amendment reducing the terms of United States Senators.

9. We demand such rules for the government of Congress as shall place all representatives of the people upon an equal footing, and take away from committees a veto power greater than that of the President.

10. The question as to the amount of duties to be levied upon various articles of import has been agitated and quarreled over and has divided communities for nearly a hundred years. It is not now and never will be settled unless by the abolition

of indirect taxation. It is a convenient issue—always raised when the people are excited over abuses in their midst. While we favor a wise revision of the tariff laws, with a view to raising a revenue from luxuries rather than necessaries, we insist that as an economic question its importance is insignificant as compared with financial issues; for whereas we have suffered our worst panics under low and also under high tariff, we have never suffered from a panic nor seen our factories and workshops closed while the volume of money in circulation was adequate to the needs of commerce. Give our farmers and manufacturers money as cheap as you now give it to our bankers, and they can pay high wages to labor, and compete with all the world.

11. For the purpose of testing the sense of the people upon the subject, we are in favor of submitting to a vote of the people an amendment to the Constitution in favor of suffrage regardless of sex, and also on the subject of the liquor traffic.

12. All disabled soldiers of the late war should be equitably pensioned, and we denounce the policy of keeping a small army of office-holders whose only business is to prevent, on technical grounds, deserving soldiers from obtaining justice from the government they helped to save.

13. As our name indicates, we are a National party, knowing no East, no West, no North, no South. Having no sectional prejudices, we can properly place in nomination for the high offices of state as candidates, men from any section of the Union.

14. We appeal to all people who believe in our principles to aid us by voice, pen and votes.

NATIONAL PROHIBITION PLATFORM.

Adopted at Pittsburg, Pa., July 23, 1884.

First—The Prohibition Home Protection party, in national convention assembled, acknowledge Almighty God as the rightful sovereign of all men, from whom the first powers of government are derived, to whose laws human enactments should conform, and that peace, prosperity and happiness only can come to the people when their laws of the National and State Government are in accord with the divine will.

Second—That the importation, manufacture, supply and sale of alcoholic beverages, created and maintained by the laws of the National and State Governments, during the entire history of such laws, is everywhere shown to be the promoting cause of intemperance, with resulting crime and pauperism, making large demands upon public and private charity, imposing large and unjust taxation and public burdens for penal and sheltering institutions upon thrift, industry, manufactures, and commerce, endangering the public peace, desecration of the Sabbath, corrupting our politics, legislation and administration of the laws, shortening lives, impairing health, and diminishing productive industry, causing education to be neglected and despised, nullifying the teachings of the Bible, the Church and the school, the standards and guides of our

fathers, and their children in the founding and growth under God of our widely-extended country, and while imperiling the perpetuity of our civil and religious liberty, are baleful fruits by which we know that these laws are alike contrary to God's laws and contravene our happiness, and we call upon our fellow-citizens to aid in the repeal of these laws, and the legal suppression of this baneful liquor traffic.

The fact that during the twenty-four years in which the Republican party has controlled the general government and that of many of the States no effort has been made to change this policy. Territories have been created from the National domain and governments for them established, and States from them admitted into the Union, in no instance in either of which has this traffic been forbidden or the people of these Territories or States been permitted to prohibit.

That there are now over two hundred thousand distilleries, breweries, wholesale and retail dealers in these drinks, holding certificates and claiming the authority of the government for the continuation of a business which is so destructive to the moral and material welfare of the people, together with the fact that they have turned a deaf ear to remonstrance and petition for the correction of this abuse of civil government, is conclusive that the Republican party is insensible to or impotent for the redress of those wrongs, and should no longer be intrusted with the powers and responsibilities of government; that although this party in its late National Convention was silent on the liquor question, not so its candidates, Messrs. Blaine and Logan. Within the year past Mr. Blaine has publicly recommended that the revenues derived from the liquor traffic shall be distributed among the States, and Senator Logan has by a bill proposed to devote these revenues to the support of the schools; thus both virtually recommend the perpetuation of the traffic, and that the State and its citizens shall become partners in the liquor crime.

The fact that the Democratic party has, in its national deliverance of party policy, arrayed itself on the side of the drink-makers and sellers by declaring against the policy of prohibition of such traffic under the false name of "Sumptuary Laws," and when in power in some of the States in refusing remedial legislation, and in Congress of refusing to permit the creation of a Board of Inquiry to investigate and report upon the effects of this traffic, proves that the Democratic party should not be intrusted with power or place.

That there can be no greater peril to the nation than the existing competition of the Republican and Democratic parties for the liquor vote. Experience shows that any party not openly opposed to the traffic will engage in this competition, will court the favor of the criminal classes, will barter away the public morals, the purity of the ballot and every trust and object of good government for party success, and patriots and good citizens should find in this practice sufficient cause for immediate withdrawal from all connection with their party.

That we favor reforms in the administration of the government, in the abolition of all sinecures, useless offices and officers, in the election of the post-office officers of the government instead of appointment by the President; that compe-

tency, honesty and sobriety are essential qualifications for holding civil office, and we oppose the removal of such persons from mere administrative offices, except so far as it may be absolutely necessary to secure effectiveness to the vital issues on which the general administration of the government has intrusted to a party; that the collection of revenues from alcohol, liquors and tobacco should be abolished as the vices of men and not a proper subject for taxation; that revenues for customs duties should be levied for the support of the government economically administered, and when so levied the fostering of American labor, manufactures and industries should constantly be held in view; that the public land should be held for homes for the people and not for gifts to corporations, or to be held in large bodies for speculation upon the needs of actual settlers.

That all money, coin and paper, shall be made, issued and regulated by the general government, and shall be a legal tender for all debts, public and private.

That grateful care and support should be given to our soldiers and sailors, their dependent widows and orphans, disabled in the service of the country.

That we repudiate as un-American, contrary to and subversive of the principles of the Declaration of Independence, from which our government has grown to be the government of fifty-five millions of people and a recognized power among the nations, that any person or people shall or may be excluded from residence or citizenship, with all others who may desire the benefits which our institutions confer upon the oppressed of all nations.

That while there are important reforms that are demanded for purity of administration and the welfare of the people, their importance sinks into insignificance when compared with the reform of the drink traffic, which annually wastes $800,000,000 of the wealth created by toil and thrift and drags down thousands of families from comfort to poverty; which fills jails, penitentiaries, insane asylums, hospitals and institutions for dependency; which destroys the health, saps industry and causes loss of life and property to thousands in the land, lowers intellectual and physical vigor, dulls the cunning hand of the artisan, is the chief cause of bankruptcy, insolvency and loss in trade, and by its corrupting power endangers the perpetuity of free institutions.

That Congress should exercise its undoubted power, and prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating beverages in the District of Columbia, the Territories of the United States, in all places over which the government has exclusive jurisdiction; that hereafter no State shall be admitted into the Union until its Constitution shall expressly prohibit polygamy and the manufacture and sale of intoxicating beverages.

We earnestly call the attention of the laborer and the mechanic, the miner and manufacturer, and ask investigation of the baneful effects upon labor and industry caused by the needless liquor business, which will be found the robber who lessens wages and profits, the destroyer of the happiness and family welfare of the laboring man; and that labor and all

legitimate industry demand deliverance from taxation and loss which this traffic imposes; and that no tariff or other legislation can so healthily stimulate production, or increase a demand for capital and labor, or produce so much of comfort and content as the suppressing of this traffic would bring to the laboring man, mechanic or employer of labor throughout our land.

That the activity and co-operation of the women of America for the promotion of temperance has, in all the history of the past, been a strength and encouragement, which we gratefully acknowledge and record. In the latter and present phase of the movement for prohibition of the licensed traffic by the abolition of the drink saloon, the purity of purpose and method, the earnestness, zeal, intelligence and devotion of the mothers and daughters of the Women's Christian Temperance Union have been eminently blessed by God. Kansas and Iowa have been given her as "sheafs" of rejoicing, and the education and arousing of the public mind, and the demand for constitutional amendment now prevailing, are largely the fruit of her prayers and labors, and we rejoice to have our Christian women unite with us in sharing the labor that shall bring the abolition of traffic to the polls. She shall join in the grand "Praise God, from whom all blessings flow," when by law our boys and friends shall be free from legal drink and temptation.

That we believe in the civil and political equality of the sexes, and that the ballot in the hand of woman is a right for her protection, and would prove a powerful ally for the abolition of the drink saloon, the execution of law, the promotion of reform in civil affairs, and the removal of corruption in public life; and thus believing, we relegate the practical outworking of this reform to the discretion of the Prohibition party in the several States, according to the condition of public sentiment in those States. That, gratefully, we acknowledge and praise God for the presence of His Spirit, guiding our counsels and granting the success which has been vouchsafed in the progress of temperance reform; and looking to Him from whom all wisdom and help come, we ask the voters of the United States to make the principles of the above declaration a ruling principle in the government of the Nation and of the States.

Resolved, That henceforth the Prohibition Home Protection party shall be called by the name of the Prohibition party.

PARTY PLATFORMS.

1888.

DEMOCRATIC, REPUBLICAN, PROHIBITION.

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM.

ADOPTED AT ST. LOUIS, JUNE 7, 1888.

The Democratic party of the United States, in National Convention assembled, renews the pledge of its fidelity to Democratic faith and reaffirms the platform adopted by its representatives in the convention of 1884, and indorses the views expressed by President Cleveland in his last annual message to Congress as the correct interpretation of that platform upon the question of tariff reduction; and also indorses the efforts of our Democratic representatives in Congress to secure a reduction of excessive taxation.

Chief among its principles of party faith are the maintenance of an indissoluble union of free and indestructible States, now about to enter upon its second century of unexampled progress and renown; devotion to a plan of government regulated by a written Constitution, strictly specifying every granted power and expressly reserving to the States or people the entire ungranted residue of power; the encouragement of a jealous popular vigilance directed to all who have been chosen for brief terms to enact and execute the laws, and are charged with the duty of preserving peace, insuring equality and establishing justice.

The Democratic party welcome an exacting scrutiny of the administration of the Executive power, which four years ago was committed to its trust in the election of Grover Cleveland, President of the United States; and it challenges the most searching inquiry concerning its fidelity and devotion to the pledges which then invited the suffrages of the people.

During a most critical period of our financial affairs, resulting from overtaxation, the anomalous condition of our currency and a public debt unmatured, it has, by the adoption of a wise and conservative course, not only averted disaster, but greatly promoted the prosperity of the people.

It has reversed the improvident and unwise policy of the Republican party touching the public domain, and has reclaimed from corporations and syndicates, alien and domestic, and restored to the people nearly one hundred millions of acres of valuable land to be sacredly held as homesteads for our citizens.

While carefully guarding the interest of the taxpayers and conforming strictly to the principles of justice and equity, it

has paid out more for pensions and bounties to the soldiers and sailors of the Republic than was ever paid before during an equal period.

By an intelligent management and a judicious and economical expenditure of the public money it has set on foot the reconstruction of the American Navy upon a system which forbids the recurrence of scandal and insures successful results.

It has adopted and consistently pursued a firm and prudent foreign policy, preserving peace with all nations while scrupulously maintaining all the rights and interests of our government and people at home and abroad.

The exclusion from our shores of Chinese laborers has been effectually secured under the provisions of a treaty, the operation of which has been postponed by the action of a Republican majority in the Senate.

Honest reform in the Civil Service has been inaugurated and maintained by President Cleveland, and he has brought the public service to the highest standard of efficiency, not only by rule and precept, but by the example of his own untiring and unselfish administration of public affairs.

In every branch and department of the government under Democratic control, the rights and welfare of all the people have been guarded and defended; every public interest has been protected, and the equality of all our citizens before the law, without regard to race or section, has been steadfastly maintained.

Upon its record thus exhibited and upon the pledge of a continuance to the people of the benefits of good government, the National Democracy invokes a renewal of popular trust by the re-election of a Chief Magistrate who has been faithful, able and prudent.

They invoke an addition to that trust by the transfer also to the Democracy of the entire legislative power.

The Republican party, controlling the Senate and resisting in both Houses of Congress a reformation of unjust and unequal tax laws, which have outlasted the necessities of war and are now undermining the abundance of a long peace, deny to the people equality before the law and the fairness and the justice which are their right.

Thus the cry of American labor for a better share in the rewards of industry is stifled with false pretences; enterprise is fettered and bound down to home markets; capital is discouraged with doubt; and unequal, unjust laws can neither be properly amended nor repealed.

The Democratic party will continue, with all the power confided to it, the struggle to reform these laws in accordance with the pledges of its last platform endorsed at the ballot-box by the suffrages of the people.

Of all the industrious freemen of our land, an immense majority, including every tiller of the soil, gain no advantage from excessive tax laws; but the price of nearly everything they buy is increased by the favoritism of an unequal system of tax legislation.

All unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation.

It is repugnant to the creed of Democracy that by such taxation the cost of the necessaries of life should be unjustifiably increased to all our people.

Judged by Democratic principles, the interests of the people are betrayed, when, by unnecessary taxation, trusts and combinations are permitted and fostered, which, while unduly enriching the few that combine, rob the body of our citizens by depriving them of the benefits of natural competition. Every Democratic rule of governmental action is violated when through unnecessary taxation a vast sum of money, far beyond the needs of an economical administration, is drawn from the people and the channels of trade and accumulated as a demoralizing surplus in the National Treasury.

The money now lying idle in the Federal Treasury resulting from superfluous taxation amounts to more than $125,000,000, and the surplus collected is reaching the sum of more than $60,000,000 annually.

Debauched by the immense temptation the remedy of the Republican party is to meet and exhaust by extravagant appropriations and expenditures, whether constitutional or not, the accumulations of extravagant taxation.

The Democratic remedy is to enforce frugality in public expense and abolish needless taxation.

Our established domestic industries and enterprises should not, and need not, be endangered by a reduction and correction of the burdens of taxation. On the contrary, a fair and careful revision of our tax laws, with due allowance for the difference between the wages of American and foreign labor, must promote and encourage every branch of such industries and enterprises by giving them assurance of an extended market and steady and continuous operation.

In the interest of American labor, which should in no event be neglected, the revision of our tax laws contemplated by the Democratic party would promote the advantage of such labor by cheapening the cost of the necessaries of life in the home of every workingman, and at the same time securing to him steady and remunerative employment.

Upon this great issue of tariff reform, so closely concerning every phase of our national life, and upon every question involved in the problem of good government, the Democratic party submits its principles and professions to the intelligent suffrages of the American people.

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

ADOPTED AT CHICAGO, JUNE 21, 1888.

The Republicans of the United States, assembled by their delegates in National Convention, pause on the threshold of their proceedings to honor the memory of their first great leader, the immortal champion of liberty and the rights of the people—Abraham Lincoln; and to cover also with wreaths of imperishable remembrance and gratitude the heroic names of our later leaders who have more recently been called away

from our councils—Grant, Garfield, Arthur, Logan, Conkling. May their memories be faithfully cherished. We also recall with our greetings, and with prayer for his recovery, the name of one of our living heroes, whose memory will be treasured in the history both of Republicans and of the Republic—the name of that noble soldier and favorite child of victory, Philip H. Sheridan.

In the spirit of those great leaders, and of our own devotion to human liberty, and with that hostility to all forms of despotism and oppression, which is the fundamental idea of the Republican party, we send fraternal congratulation to our fellow-Americans of Brazil upon their great act of emancipation, which completed the abolition of slavery throughout the two American continents. We earnestly hope that we may soon congratulate our fellow-citizens of Irish birth upon the peaceful recovery of home rule for Ireland.

We reaffirm our unswerving devotion to the National Constitution and to the indissoluble union of the States; to the autonomy reserved to the States under the Constitution; to the personal rights and liberties of citizens in all the States and Territories in the Union, and especially to the supreme and sovereign right of every lawful citizen, rich or poor, native or foreign born, white or black, to cast one free ballot in public elections, and to have that ballot duly counted. We hold the free and honest popular ballot and the just and equal representation of all the people to be the foundation of our republican government, and demand effective legislation to secure the integrity and purity of elections, which are the fountains of all public authority. We charge that the present Administration and the Democratic majority in Congress owe their existence to the suppression of the ballot by a criminal nullification of the Constitution and laws of the United States.

We are uncomprisingly in favor of the American system of protection; we protest against its destruction as proposed by the President and his party. They serve the interests of Europe; we will support the interests of America. We accept the issue and confidently appeal to the people for their judgment. The protective system must be maintained. Its abandonment has always been followed by general disaster to all interests, except those of the usurer and the sheriff. We denounce the Mills Bill as destructive to the general business, the labor and the farming interests of the country, and we heartily indorse the consistent and patriotic action of the Republican Representatives in Congress in opposing its passage.

We condemn the proposition of the Democratic party to place wool on the free list, and we insist that the duties thereon shall be adjusted and maintained so as to furnish full and adequate protection to that industry.

The Republican party would effect all needed reduction of the national revenue by repealing the taxes upon tobacco, which are an annoyance and burden to agriculture, and the tax upon spirits used in the arts and for mechanical purposes, and by such revision of the tariff laws as will tend to check imports of such articles as are produced by our people, the production of which gives employment to our labor, and

release from import duties those articles of foreign production (except luxuries) the like of which cannot be produced at home. If there shall still remain a larger revenue than is requisite for the wants of the Government, we favor the entire repeal of internal taxes rather than the surrender of any part of our protective system, at the joint behests of the whisky ring and the agents of foreign manufacturers.

We declare our hostility to the introduction into this country of foreign contract labor and of Chinese labor, alien to our civilization and our Constitution, and we demand the rigid enforcement of the existing laws against it, and favor such immediate legislation as will exclude such labor from our shores.

We declare our opposition to all combinations of capital, organized in trusts or otherwise, to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens; and we recommend to Congress and the State Legislatures, in their respective jurisdictions, such legislation as will prevent the execution of all schemes to oppress the people by undue charges on their supplies, or by unjust rates for the transportation of their products to market. We approve the legislation by Congress to prevent alike unjust burdens and unfair discriminations between the States.

We reaffirm the policy of appropriating the public lands of the United States to be homesteads for American citizens and settlers, not aliens, which the Republican party established in 1862, against the persistent opposition of the Democrats in Congress, and which has brought our great Western domain into such magnificent development. The restoration of unearned railroad land grants to the public domain for the use of actual settlers, which was begun under the Administration of President Arthur, should be continued. We deny that the Democratic party has ever restored one acre to the people, but declare that by the joint action of the Republicans and Democrats about 50,000,000 of acres of unearned lands originally granted for the construction of railroads have been restored to the public domain, in pursuance of the conditions inserted by the Republican party in the original grants. We charge the Democratic Administration with failure to execute the laws securing to settlers title to their homesteads, and with using appropriations made for that purpose to harass innocent settlers with spies and prosecutions under the false pretense of exposing frauds and vindicating the law.

The government by Congress of the Territories is based upon necessity only, to the end that they may become States in the Union; therefore, whenever the conditions of population, material resources, public intelligence and morality are such as to insure a stable local government therein, the people of such Territories should be permitted, as a right inherent in them, the right to form for themselves constitutions and State governments, and be admitted into the Union. Pending the preparation for Statehood, all officers thereof should be selected from the bona fide residents and citizens of the Territory wherein they are to serve.

South Dakota should of right be immediately admitted as a State in the Union, under the constitution framed and adopted

by her people, and we heartily indorse the action of the Republican Senate in twice passing bills for her admission. The refusal of the Democratic House of Representatives, for partisan purposes, favorably to consider these bills, is a willful violation of the sacred American principle of local self-government, and merits the condemnation of all just men. The pending bills in the Senate for acts to enable the people of Washington, North Dakota and Montana Territories to form constitutions and establish State governments should be passed without unnecessary delay. The Republican party pledges itself to do all in its power to facilitate the admission of the Territories of New Mexico, Wyoming, Idaho and Arizona to the enjoyment of self-government as States, such of them as are now qualified as soon as possible, and the others as soon as they become so.

The political power of the Mormon Church in the Territories as exercised in the past is a menace to free institutions, a danger no longer to be suffered. Therefore we pledge the Republican party to appropriate legislation asserting the sovereignity of the Nation in all Territories where the same is questioned, and in furtherance of that end to place upon the statute books legislation stringent enough to divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power, and thus stamp out the attendant wickedness of polygamy.

The Republican party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money, and condemns the policy of the Democratic administration in its efforts to demonetize silver.

We demand the reduction of letter postage to one cent per ounce.

In a Republic like ours, where the citizen is the sovereign and the official the servant, where no power is exercised except by the will of the people, it is important that the sovereign—the people—should possess intelligence. The free school is the promoter of that intelligence which is to preserve us a free nation; therefore the State or Nation, or both combined, should support free institutions of learning sufficient to afford to every child growing up in the land the opportunity of a good common school education.

We earnestly recommend that prompt action be taken by Congress in the enactment of such legislation as will best secure the rehabilitation of our American merchant marine, and we protest against the passage by Congress of a free ship bill, as calculated to work injustice to labor by lessening the wages of those engaged in preparing materials as well as those directly employed in our ship-yards. We demand appropriations for the early rebuilding of our navy; for the construction of coast fortifications and modern ordnance and other approved modern means of defence for the protection of our defenceless harbors and cities; for the payment of just pensions to our soldiers; for the necessary works of national importance in the improvement of harbors and the channels of internal, coastwise and foreign commerce for the encouragement of the shipping interests of the Atlantic, Gulf and Pacific States, as well as for the payment of the maturing public debt. This policy will give employment to our labor, activity to our various industries, increase the security of our

country, promote trade, open new and direct markets for our produce and cheapen the cost of transportation. We affirm this to be far better for our country than the Democratic policy of loaning the Goverment's money without interest to "pet banks."

The conduct of foreign affairs by the present Administration has been distinguished by its inefficiency and its cowardice. Having withdrawn from the Senate all pending treaties effected by Republican Administrations for the removal of foreign burdens and restrictions upon our commerce and for its extension into better markets, it has neither effected nor proposed any others in their stead. Professing adherence to the Monroe doctrine, it has seen with idle complacency the extension of foreign influence in Central America and of foreign trade everywhere among our neighbors. It has refused to charter, sanction or encourage any American organization for constructing the Nicaragua Canal, a work of vital importance to the maintenance of the Monroe doctrine, and of our national influence in Central and South America; and necessary for the development of trade with our Pacific territory, with South America and with the islands and further coasts of the Pacific Ocean.

We arraign the present Democratic Administration for its weak and unpatriotic treatment of the fisheries question, and its pusillanimous surrender of the essential privileges to which our fishing vessels are entitled in Canadian ports under the treaty of 1818, the reciprocal maritime legislation of 1830 and the comity of nations, and which Canadian fishing vessels receive in the ports of the United States. We condemn the policy of the present Administration and the Democratic majority in Congress toward our fisheries as unfriendly and conspicuously unpatriotic, and as tending to destroy a valuable national industry, and an indispensable resource of defence against a foreign enemy.

The name of American applies alike to all citizens of the Republic and imposes upon all alike the same obligation of obedience to the laws. At the same time that citizenship is and must be the panoply and safeguard of him who wears it, and protect him, whether high or low, rich or poor, in all his civil rights. It should and must afford him protection at home, and follow and protect him abroad in whatever land he may be on a lawful errand.

The men who abandoned the Republican party in 1884 and continue to adhere to the Democratic party have deserted not only the cause of honest government, of sound finance, of freedom, of purity of the ballot, but especially have deserted the cause of reform in the Civil Service. We will not fail to keep our pledges because they have broken theirs, or because their candidate has broken his. We therefore repeat our declaration of 1884, to wit: "The reform of the Civil Service auspiciously begun under the Republican Administration should be completed by the further extension of the reform system already established by law to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all Executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the object of existing reform

legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectually avoided."

The gratitude of the Nation to the defenders of the Union cannot be measured by laws. The legislation of Congress should conform to the pledge made by a loyal people, and be so enlarged and extended as to provide against the possibility that any man who honorably wore the Federal uniform should become the inmate of an almshouse, or dependent upon private charity. In the presence of an overflowing Treasury it would be a public scandal to do less for those whose valorous service preserved the Government. We denounce the hostile spirit of President Cleveland in his numerous vetoes of measures for pension relief, and the action of the Democratic House of Representatives in refusing even a consideration of general pension legislation.

In support of the principles herewith enunciated, we invite the co-operation of patriotic men of all parties, and especially of all workingmen, whose prosperity is seriously threatened by the free-trade policy of the present Administration.

We reaffirm our unswerving devotion to the personal rights and liberties of citizens. The first concern of all good government is the virtue and sobriety of the people and the purity of the home. The Republican party cordially sympathizes with all wise and well-directed efforts for the promotion of temperance and morality.

NATIONAL PROHIBITION PLATFORM.

Adopted at Indianapolis, May 31, 1888.

The Prohibition party in National Convention assembled, acknowledging Almighty God as the source of all power in government, does hereby declare:

That the manufacture, importation, exportation, transportation and sale of alcoholic beverages shall be made public crimes and prohibited and punished as such.

That such prohibition must be secured through amendments of our National and State Constitutions, enforced by adequate laws adequately supported by administrative authority, and to this end the organization of the Prohibition party is imperatively demanded in State and Nation.

That any form of license, taxation or regulation of the liquor traffic is contrary to good government; that any party which supports regulation by license or tax enters into an alliance with such traffic and becomes the actual foe of the State's welfare, and that we arraign the Republican and Democratic parties for their persistent attitude in favor of the licensed iniquity, whereby they oppose the demand of the people for prohibition and through open complicity with the liquor cause defeat the enforcement of law.

For the immediate abolition of the internal revenue system, whereby our National Government is deriving support from our greatest national vice.

That an adequate public revenue being necessary, it may properly be raised by import duties, but import duties should be so reduced that no surplus shall be accumulated in the treasury, and the burdens of taxation should be removed from foods, clothing and other comforts and necessaries of life, and imposed on such other articles of import as will give protection to the manufacturing employer and producing laborer against the competition of the world.

That Civil Service appointments for all civil offices, chiefly clerical in their duties, should be based upon moral, intellectual and physical qualifications, and not upon party service or party necessity.

The right of suffrage rests on no mere circumstance of race, color, sex or nationality, and that where, from any cause, it has been withheld from citizens who are of suitable age and mentally and morally qualified for the exercise of an intelligent ballot, it should be restored by the people through the legislatures of the several States on such educational basis as they may deem wise.

For the abolition of polygamy and the establishment of uniform laws governing marriage and divorce.

For prohibiting all combinations of capital to control and to increase the cost of products for popular consumption.

For the preservation and defense of the Sabbath as a civil institution without oppressing any who religiously observe the same on any other day than the first day of the week.

That arbitration is the Christian, wise and economic method of settling national differences, and the same method should by judicious legislation be applied to the settlement of disputes between large bodies of employes and employers; that the abolition of the saloon would remove the burdens, moral, physical, pecuniary and social, which now oppress labor and rob it of its earnings, and would prove to be the wise and successful way of promoting labor reform; and we invite labor and capital to unite with us for the accomplishment thereof.

That monopoly in land is a wrong to the people, and public land should be reserved to actual settlers, and that men and women should receive equal wages for equal work.

That our immigration laws should be so enforced as to prevent the introduction into our country of all convicts, inmates of dependent institutions and others physically incapacitated for self-support, and that no person shall have the ballot in any State who is not a citizen of the United States.

Recognizing and declaring that the prohibition of the liquor traffic has become the dominant issue in national politics, we invite to full party followship all those who on this one dominant issue are with us agreed in the full belief that this party can and will remove sectional differences, promote national unity, and insure the best welfare of our native land.

PARTY PLATFORMS.

1892.

DEMOCRATIC, REPUBLICAN, PROHIBITION, PEOPLE'S.

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM.

ADOPTED AT CHICAGO, JUNE 22, 1892.

The representatives of the Democratic party of the United States, in National Convention assembled, do reaffirm their allegiance to the principles of the party as formulated by Jefferson and exemplified by the long and illustrious line of nine of his successors in Democratic leadership from Madison to Cleveland.

We believe the public welfare demands that these principles be applied to the conduct of the Federal Government through the accession to power of the party that advocates them, and we solemnly declare that the need of a return to these fundamental principles of a free popular Government, based on home rule and individual liberty, was never more urgent than now, when the tendency to centralize all power at the Federal Capitol has become a menace to the reserved rights of the States, that strikes at the very roots of our Government under the Constitution as framed by the fathers of the Republic.

We warn the people of our common country, jealous for the preservation of their free institutions, that the policy of Federal control of elections, to which the Republican party has committed itself, is fraught with the gravest dangers, scarcely less momentous than would result from a revolution practically establishing monarchy on the ruins of the Republic. It strikes at the North as well as the South and injures the colored citizen even more than the white; it means a horde of deputy marshals at every polling place armed with Federal power, returning boards appointed and controlled by Federal authority, the outrage of the electoral rights of the people in the several States, the subjugation of the colored people to the control of the party in power and the reviving of race antagonisms, now happily abated, of the utmost peril to the safety and happiness of all; a measure deliberately and justly described by a leading Republican Senator as "the most infamous bill that ever crossed the threshold of the Senate."

Such a policy, if sanctioned by law, would mean the dominance of a self-perpetuating oligarchy of office-holders, and the party first intrusted with its machinery could be dislodged from power

only by an appeal to the reserved right of the people to resist oppression, which is inherent in all self-governing communities.

Two years ago this revolutionary policy was emphatically condemned by the people at the polls; but in contempt of that verdict the Republican party has defiantly declared in its latest authoritative utterance that its success in the coming elections will mean the enactment of the Force Bill and the usurpation of despotic control over elections in all the States.

Believing that the preservation of Republican Government in the United States is dependent upon the defeat of this policy of legalized force and fraud, we invite the support of all citizens who desire to see the Constitution maintained in its integrity with the laws pursuant thereto, which have given our country a hundred years of unexampled prosperity, and we pledge the Democratic party, if to be intrusted with power, not only to the defeat of the Force Bill, but also to relentless opposition to the Republican policy of profligate expenditure which, in the short space of two years, has squandered an enormous surplus and emptied an overflowing treasury, after piling new burdens of taxation upon the already overtaxed labor of the country.

We denounce the Republican protection as a fraud. The labor of the great majority of the American people for the benefit of the few. We declare it to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the Federal Government has no constitutional power to impose and collect tariff duties, except for the purposes of revenue only—and we demand that the collection of such taxes shall be limited to the necessities of the Government, when honestly and economically administered.

We denounce the McKinley tariff law, enacted by the Fifty-first Congress, as the culminating atrocity of class legislation; we indorse the efforts made by the Democrats of the present Congress to modify its most oppressive features in the direction of free raw materials and cheaper manufactured goods that enter into general consumption; and we promise its repeal as one of the beneficient results that will follow the action of the people in intrusting power to the Democratic party.

Since the McKinley tariff went into operation there have been ten reductions of the wages of the laboring men to one increase. We deny that there has been any increase of prosperity to the country since that tariff went into operation, and we point to the dullness and distress, the wage reductions and strikes in the iron trade, as the best possible evidence that no such prosperity has resulted from the McKinley act.

We call the attention of thoughtful Americans to the fact that after thirty years of restrictive taxes against the importation of foreign wealth in exchange for our agricultural surplus, the homes and farms of the country have become burdened with a real estate mortgage debt of over $2,500,000,000, exclusive of all

other forms of indebtedness; that in one of the chief agricultural States of the West, there appears a real estate mortgage debt averaging $165 per capita of the total population, and that similar conditions and tendencies are shown to exist in the other agricultural exporting states.

We denounce a policy which fosters no industry so much as it does that of the sheriff.

Trade interchange on the basis of reciprocal advantages of the countries participating is a time honored doctrine of the Democratic faith, but we denounce the sham reciprocity which juggles with the people's desire for enlarged foreign markets and freer exchanges by pretending to establish closer trade relations for a country whose articles of export are almost exclusively agricultural products with other countries that are also agricultural while erecting a Custom-House barrier of prohibitive tariff taxes against the rich and the countries of the world that stand ready to take our entire surplus of products and to exchange therefor commodities which are necessaries and comforts of life among our own people.

We recognize in the trusts and combinations, which are designed to enable capital to secure more than its just share of the joint product of capital and labor, a natural consequence of the prohibitive taxes which prevent the free competition which is the life of honest trade; but we believe their worst evils can be abated by law, and we demand the rigid enforcement of the laws made to prevent and control them, together with such further legislation in restraint of their abuses as experience may show to be necessary.

The Republican party, while professing a policy of reserving the public land for small holdings by actual settlers, has given away the people's heritage, till now a few railroad and non-resident, aliens, individual and corporate, possess a larger area than that of all our farms between the two seas.

The last Democratic Administration reversed the improvident and unwise policy of the Republican party touching the public domain, and reclaimed from corporations and syndicates, alien and domestic, and restored to the people nearly one hundred million acres of valuable land to be sacredly held as homesteads for our citizens, and we pledge ourselves to continue this policy until every acre of land so unlawfully held shall be reclaimed and restored to the people.

We denounce the Republican legislation known as the Sherman act of 1890 as a cowardly makeshift, fraught with possibilities of danger in the future which should make all of its supporters, as well as its author, anxious for its speedy repeal.

We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal or charge for mintage,

but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value or be adjusted through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the purity of the two metals and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in the payment of debts; and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin.

We insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of the farmers and laboring classes, the first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.

We recommend that the prohibitory 10 per cent. tax on State bank issues be repealed.

Public office is a public trust. We reaffirm the declaration of the Democratic National Convention of 1876 for the reform of the civil service, and we call for the honest enforcement of all laws regulating the same. The nomination of a President, as in the recent Republican Convention, by delegations composed largely of his appointees, holding office at his pleasure, is a scandalous satire upon free popular institutions and a startling illustration of the methods by which a President may gratify his ambition.

We denounce a policy under which Federal office-holders usurp control of party conventions in the States, and we pledge the Democratic party to the reform of these and all other abuses which threaten individual liberty and local self-government.

The Democratic party is the only party that has given the country a foreign policy consistent and vigorous, compelling respect abroad and inspiring confidence at home. While avoiding entangling alliances, it has aimed to cultivate friendly relations with other nations and especially with our neighbors on the American continent whose destiny is closely linked with our own, and we view with alarm the tendency to a policy of irritation and bluster which is liable at any time to confront us with the alternative of humiliation or war.

We favor the maintenance of a navy strong enough for all purposes of national defense and to promptly maintain the honor and dignity of the country abroad.

This country has always been the refuge of the oppressed from every land—exiles for conscience sake—and in the spirit of the founders of our Government we condemn the oppression practiced by the Russian Government upon its Lutheran and Jewish subjects, and we call upon our National Government, in the interest of justice and humanity, by all just and proper means, to use its prompt and best efforts to bring about a cessation of these cruel persecutions in the dominions of the Czar and to secure to the oppressed equal rights.

We tender our profound and earnest sympathy to those lovers of freedom who are struggling for home rule and the great cause of local self-government in Ireland.

We heartily approve of all legitimate efforts to prevent the United States from being used as the dumping ground for the known criminals and professional paupers of Europe, and we demand the rigid enforcement of the laws against Chinese immigration or the importation of foreign workmen under contract to degrade American labor and lessen its wages, but we condemn and denounce any and all attempts to restrict the immigration of the industrious and worthy of foreign lands.

This Convention hereby renews the expression of appreciation of the patriotism of the soldiers and sailors of the Union in the war for its preservation, and we favor just and liberal pensions for all disabled Union soldiers, their widows and dependents, but we demand that the work of the Pension Office shall be done industriously, impartially, and honestly.

We denounce the present administration of that office as incompetent, corrupt, disgraceful and dishonest.

The Federal Government should care for and improve the Mississippi River and other great waterways of the Republic, so as to secure for the interior States easy and cheap transportation to the tidewater.

When any waterway of the Republic is of sufficient importance to demand the aid of the Government—that such aid should be extended by a definite plan of continuous work until permanent improvement is secured.

For purposes of national defense and the promotion of commerce between the States, we recognize the early construction of the Nicaragua Canal and its protection against foreign control as of great importance to the United States.

Recognizing the World's Columbian Exposition as a national undertaking of vast importance, in which the General Government has invited the co-operation of all the powers of the world, and appreciating the acceptance by many of such powers of the invitation extended and the broadest liberal efforts being made by them to contribute to the grandeur of the undertaking, we are of the opinion that Congress should make such necessary financial provision as shall be requisite to the maintenance of the national honor and public faith.

Popular education being the only safe basis of popular sufferage, we recommend to the several States most liberal appropriations for the public schools. Free common schools are the nursery of good government, and they have always received the fostering care of the Democratic party, which favors every means of increasing intelligence. Freedom of education being an essential of civil and religious liberty as well as a necessity for the devel opment of intelligence, must not be interfered with under any pretext whatever.

We are opposed to State interference with parental rights and rights of conscience in the education of children as an infringe-

ment of the fundamental Democratic doctrine that the largest individual liberty consistent with the rights of others insures the highest type of American citizenship and the best government.

We approve the action of the present House of Representatives in passing bills for the admission into the Union as States of the Territories of New Mexico and Arizona, and we favor the early admission of all the Territories having necessary population and resources to admit them to Statehood, and while they remain Territories we hold that the officials appointed to administer the government of any Territory, together with the Districts of Columbia and Alaska, should be bona fide residents of the Territory or District in which their duties are to be performed.

The Democratic party believes in home rule and the control of their own affairs by the people of the vicinage.

We favor legislation by Congress and State Legislatures to protect the lives and limbs of railway employees and those of other hazardous transportation companies, and denounce the inactivity of the Republican party, and particularly the Republican Senate, for causing the defeat of measures beneficial and protective to this class of wage-workers.

We are in favor of the enactment by the States of laws for abolishing the notorious sweating system, for abolishing contract convict labor and for prohibiting the employment in factories of children under fifteen years of age.

We are opposed to all sumptuary laws as an interference with the individual rights of the citizen.

Upon this statement of principles and policies the Democratic party asks the intelligent judgment of the American people. It asks a change of administration and a change of party in order that there may be a change of system and a change of methods, thus assuring the maintenance, unimpaired, of institutions under which the Republic has grown great and powerful.

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

Adopted at Minneapolis, June 9, 1892.

The representatives of the Republicans of the United States, assembled in general convention on the shores of the Mississippi River, the everlasting bond of an indestructible Republic, whose most glorious chapter of history is the record of the Republician party, congratulate their countrymen on the majestic march of the nation under the banners inscribed with the principles of our platform of 1888, vindicated by victory at the polls and prosperity in our fields, workshops and mines, and make the following declaration of principles.

We reaffirm the American doctrine of protection. We call attention to its growth abroad. We maintain that the prosperous condition of our country is largely due to the wise revenue legislation of the Republican Congress.

We believe that all articles which cannot be produced in the United States, except luxuries, should be admitted free of duty, and that on all imports coming into competition with the products of American labor there should be levied duties equal to the difference between wages abroad and at home.

We assert that the prices of manufactured articles of general consumption have been reduced under the operations of the Tariff act of 1890.

We denounce the efforts of the Democratic majority of the House of Representatives to destroy our tariff laws piecemeal, as is manifested by their attacks upon wool, lead and lead ores, the chief products of a number of States, and we ask the people for their judgment thereon.

We point to the success of the Republican policy of reciprocity, under which our export trade has vastly increased, and new and enlarged markets have been opened for the products of our farms and workshops.

We remind the people of the bitter opposition of the Democratic party to this practical business measure, and claim that, executed by a Republican Administration, our present laws will eventually give us control of the trade of the world.

The American people, from tradition and interest, favor bimetallism, and the Republican party demands the use of both gold and silver as standard money, with such restrictions and under such provisions, to be determined by legislation, as will secure the maintenance of the parity of values of the two metals, so that the purchasing and debt-paying power of the dollar, whether of silver, gold or paper, shall be at all times equal. The interests of the producers of the country, its farmers and its workingmen, demand that every dollar, paper or coin, issued by the Government shall be as good as any other.

We commend the wise and patriotic steps already taken by our Government to secure an international conference to adopt such measures as will insure a parity of value between gold and silver for use as money throughout the world.

We demand that every citizen of the United States shall be allowed to cast one free and unrestricted ballot in all public elections, and that such ballot shall be counted and returned as cast; that such laws shall be enacted and enforced as will secure to every citizen, be he rich or poor, native or foreign born, white or black, this sovereign right guaranteed by the Constitution.

The free and honest popular ballot, the just and equal representation of all the people as well as their just and equal protection under the laws, are the foundation of our Republican institutions, and the party will never relax its efforts until the integrity of the ballot and the purity of elections shall be fully guaranteed and protected in every State.

We denounce the continued inhuman outrages perpetrated upon American citizens for political reasons in certain Southern States of the Union.

We favor the extension of our foreign commerce, the restoration of our mercantile marine by home-built ships and the creation of a Navy for the protection of our National interests and the honor of our flag; the maintenance of the most friendly relations with all foreign Powers, entangling alliances with none, and the protection of the rights of our fishermen.

We reaffirm our approval of the Monroe Doctrine, and believe in the achievement of the manifest destiny of the Republic in its broadest sense.

We favor the enactment of more stringent laws and regulations for the restriction of criminal, pauper and contract immigration.

We favor efficient legislation by Congress to protect the life and limbs of employees of transportation companies engaged in carrying on inter-state commerce, and recommend legislation by the respective States that will protect employees engaged in State commerce, in mining and manufacturing.

The Republican party has always been the champion of the oppressed, and recognizes the dignity of manhood, irrespective of faith, color or nationality; it sympathizes with the cause of Home Rule in Ireland, and protests against the persecution of the Jews in Russia.

The ultimate reliance of free popular government is the intelligence of the people and the maintenance of freedom among men. We therefore declare anew our devotion to liberty of thought and conscience, of speech and press, and approve all agencies and instrumentalities which contribute to the education of the children of the land; but, while insisting upon the fullest measure of religious liberty, we are opposed to any union of Church and State.

We reaffirm our opposition, declared in the Republican platform of 1888, to all combinations of capital organized in trusts or otherwise, to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens. We heartily indorse the action already taken upon this subject, and ask for such further legislation as may be required to remedy any defects in existing laws, and to render their enforcement more complete and effective.

We approve the policy of extending to towns, villages and rural communities the advantages of the free delivery service, now enjoyed by the larger cities of the country, and reaffirm the declaration contained in the Republican platform of 1888, pledging the reduction of letter postage to one cent, at the earliest possible moment consistent with the maintenance of the Post-Office Department, and the highest class of postal service.

We commend the spirit and evidence of reform in the Civil Service, and the wise and consistent enforcement by the Republican party of the laws regulating the same.

The construction of the Nicaragua Canal is of the highest importance to the American people, both as a measure of National defence and to build up and maintain American commerce, and it should be controlled by the United States Government.

We favor the admission of the remaining Territories at the earliest practical date, having due regard to the interests of the people of the Territories and of the United States. All the Federal officers appointed for the Territories should be selected from bona fide residents thereof, and the right of self government should be accorded as far as practicable.

We favor cession, subject to the Homestead laws, of the arid public lands to the States and Territories in which they lie, under such Congressional restrictions as to disposition, reclamation and occupancy by settlers as will secure the maximum benefits to the people.

The World's Columbian Exposition is a great National undertaking, and Congress should promptly enact such reasonable legislation in aid thereof as will insure a discharge of the expenses and obligations incident thereto, and the attainment of results commensurate with the dignity and progress of the Nation.

In temperance we sympathize with all wise and legitimate efforts to lessen and prevent the evils of intemperance and promote morality.

Ever mindful of the services and sacrifices of the men who saved the life of the Nation, we pledge anew to the veteran soldiers of the Republic a watchful care and recognition of their just claims upon a grateful people.

We commend the able, patriotic and thoroughly American Administration of President Harrison. Under it the country has enjoyed remarkable prosperity, and the dignity and honor of the Nation, at home and abroad, have been faithfully maintained, and we offer the record of pledges kept as a guarantee of faithful performance in the future.

NATIONAL PROHIBITION PLATFORM.

Adopted at Omaha, June 30, 1892.

The Prohibition party in National Convention assembled, acknowledging Almighty God as the source of true government and his law as the standard to which all human enactments must conform to secure the blessings of peace and prosperity, presents the following declaration of principles:

The liquor traffic is a foe to civilization, the arch enemy of popular government and a public nuisance. It is the citadel of the forces that corrupt politics, promote poverty and crime, degrade the nation's home life, thwart the will of the people and deliver our country into the hands of rapacious class interests. All laws that, under the guise of regulation, legalize and protect this traffic or make the Government share in its illgotten gains are "vicious in principle and powerless as a remedy."

We declare anew for the entire suppression of the manufacture, sale, importation, exportation and transportation of alcoholic liquors as a beverage by Federal and State legislation, and the full powers of the Government should be exerted to secure this result. Any party that fails to recognize the dominant nature of this issue in American politics is undeserving of the support of the people.

No citizen should be denied the right to vote on account of sex, and equal labor should receive equal wages without regard to sex.

The money of the country should be issued by the general Government only, and in sufficient quantities to meet the demands of business and give full opportunity for the employment of labor. To this end an increase in the volume of money is demanded, and no individual or corporation should be allowed to make any profit through its issue. It should be made a legal tender for the payment of all debts, public and private. Its volume should be fixed at a definite sum per capita and made to increase with our increase in population.

Tariff should be levied only as a defense against foreign governments which levy tariff upon or bar out our products from their markets, revenue being incidental. The residue of means necessary to an economical administration of the Government should be raised by levying a burden upon what the people possess instead of upon what we consume.

Railroad, telegraph and other public corporations should be controlled by the Government in the interest of the people, and no higher charges allowed than necessary to give fair interest on the capital actually invested.

Foreign immigration has become a burden upon industry, one

of the factors in depressing wages and causing discontent, therefore our immigration laws should be revised and strictly enforced. The time of residence for naturalization should be extended, and no naturalized person should be allowed to vote until one year after he becomes a citizen.

Non-resident aliens should not be allowed to acquire land in this country, and we favor the limitation of individual and corporate ownership of land. All unearned grants of land to railroad companies or other corporations should be reclaimed.

Years of inaction and treachery on the part of the Republican and Democratic parties have resulted in the present reign of mob law, and we demand that every citizen be protected in the right of trial by constitutional tribunals.

All men should be protected by the law in their right to one day's rest in seven.

Arbitration is the wisest and most economical and humane method of settling National differences.

Speculation in margins, the cornering of grain, money and products and the formation of pools, trusts and combinations for the arbitrary advancement of prices should be suppressed.

We pledge that the Prohibition party, if elected to power, will ever grant just pensions to disabled veterans of the Union Army and Navy, their widows and orphans.

We stand unequivocally for the American public schools and opposed to any appropriation of public moneys for sectarian schools. We declare that only by united support of such common schools, taught in the English language, can we hope to become and remain an homogeneous and harmonious people.

We arraign the Republican and Democratic parties as false to the standards reared by their founders, as faithless to the principles of the illustrious leaders of the past to whom they do homage with the lips; as recreant to the "higher law" which is inflexible in political affairs as in personal life, and as no longer embodying the aspirations of the American people or inviting the confidence of enlightened progressive patriotism. Their protest against the admission of "moral issues" into politics is a confession of their own moral degeneracy.

The declaration of an eminent authority that municipal misrule is "the one conspicuous failure of American politics," follows as a natural consequence of such degeneracy, and is true alike of cities under Republican and Democratic control. Each accuses the other of extravagance in Congressional appropriations, and both are alike guilty, each protests when out of power against the infraction of the civil service laws, and each when in power violates those laws in letter and spirit, each professes fealty to the interests of the toiling masses, but both covertly truckle to the money power on their administration of public affairs.

Even the tariff issues as represented in the Democratic Mills

bill and the Republican McKinley bill is no longer treated by them as an issue upon great and divergent principles of government, but is a mere catering to different sectional and class interests.

The attempt in many States to wrest the Australian ballot system from its true purpose, and to so deform it as to render it extremely difficult for new parties to exercise the rights of suffrage, is an outrage upon popular government. The competition of both the parties for the vote of the slums, and their assiduous courting of the liquor power, and subserviency to the money power, has resulted in placing those powers in the position of practical arbiters of the destiny of the nation.

We renew our protest against these perilous tendencies, and invite all citizens to join us in the upbuilding of a party that, as shown in five national campaigns, prefers temporary defeat to an abandonment of the claims of justice, sobriety, personal rights and the protection of American homes.

THE PEOPLE'S PARTY PLATFORM.

Adopted at Omaha, July 4, 1892.

Assembled upon the one hundred and sixteenth aniversary of the Declaration of Independence the People's party of America, in their first National Convention, invoking upon their action the blessing of Almighty God, puts forth, in the name and on behalf of the people of this country, the following preamble and delaration of principles.

The conditions which surround us best justify our coöperation; we meet in the midst of a nation brought to the verge of moral, political, and material ruin. Corruption dominates the ballot box, the Legislatures, the Congress, and touches even the ermine of the bench. The people are demoralized; most of the States have been compelled to isolate the voters at the polling places to prevent universal intimidation or bribery. The newspapers are largely subsidized or muzzled; public opinion silenced; business prostrated; our homes covered with mortgages; labor impoverished, and the land concentrating in the hands of the capitalists. The urban workmen are denied the right of organization for self-protection; imported pauperized labor beats down their wages; a hireling standing army, unrecognized by our laws, is established to shoot them down, and they are rapidly degenerating into European conditions. The fruits of the toil of millions are boldly stolen to build up colossal fortunes for a few, unprecedented in the history of mankind; and the possessors of these, in turn, despise the republic and endanger liberty. From the same prolific womb of the governmental injustice we breed the two great classes—tramps and millionaries.

The national power to create money is appropriated to enrich bondholders; a vast public debt, payable in legal tender currency, has been funded into gold-bearing bonds, thereby adding millions to the burdens of the people.

Silver, which has been accepted as coin since the dawn of history, has been demonetized to add to the purchasing power of gold by decreasing the value of all forms of property as well as human labor, and the supply of currency is purposely abridged to fatten usurpers, bankrupt enterprises, and enslave industry.

A vast conspiracy against mankind has been organized on two continents, and it is rapidly taking possession of the world. If not met and overthrown at once, it forebodes terrible social convulsions, the destruction of civilization, or the establishment of an absolute despotism.

We have witnessed for more than a quarter of a century the struggles of the two great political parties for power and plunder,

while grievous wrongs have been inflicted upon the suffering poor. We charge that the controlling influences dominating both these parties have permitted the existing dreadful conditions to develop without serious effort to prevent or restrain them. Neither do they now promise us any substantial reform. They have agreed together to ignore, in the coming campaign, every issue but one. They propose to drown the outcries of a plundered people with the uproar of a sham battle over the tariff, so that capitalists, corporations, national banks, rings, trusts, watered stock, the demonetization of silver, and the oppressions of the usurers may be all lost sight of. They propose to sacrifice our homes, lives, and children on the altar of Mammon; to destroy the multitude in order to secure corrupt funds from the millionaires.

Assembled on the anniversary of the birthday of the nation, and filled with the spirit of the grand generation who established our independence, we seek to restore the Government of the republic to the hands of "the plain people," with which class it originated.

We assert our purposes to be identical with the purposes of the national Constitution—to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty for ourselves and our posterity.

We declare that this republic can only endure as a free government while built upon the love of the whole people for each other and for the nation; it cannot be pinned together by bayonets; that the civil war is over, and that every passion and resentment which grew out of it must die with it, and that we must be in fact, as we are in name, the United Brotherhood of Freemen.

Our country finds itself confronted by conditions for which there is no precedent in the history of the world; our annual agricultural productions amount to billions of dollars in value, which must within a few weeks or months be exchanged for billions of dollars of commodities consumed in their production; the existing currency supply is wholly inadequate to make this exchange; the results are falling prices, the formation of combines and rings, and the impoverishment of the producing class. We pledge ourselves that if given power we will labor to correct these evils by wise and reasonable legislation, in accordance with the terms of our platform.

We believe that the powers of Government—in other words, of the people—should be expended (as in the case of the postal service) as rapidly and as far as the good sense of an intelligent people and the teachings of experience shall justify, to the end that oppression, injustice and poverty shall eventually cease in the land.

While our sympathies as a party of reform are naturally upon

the side of every proposition which will tend to make men intelligent, virtuous, and temperate, we nevertheless regard these questions—important as they are—as secondary to the great issues now pressing for solution, and upon which not only our individual prosperity, but the very existence of free institutions depend; and we ask all men to first help us to determine whether we are to have a republic to administer before we differ as to the conditions upon which it is to be administered; believing that the forces of reform this day organized will never cease to move forward until every wrong is remedied, and equal rights and equal privileges securely established for all the men and women of this country.

We declare therefore,

1. That the union of the labor forces of the United States this day consummated shall be permanent and perpetual—may its spirit enter into all hearts for the salvation of the Republic, and the uplifting of mankind.

2. Wealth belongs to him who creates it, and every dollar taken from industry, without an equivalent, is robbery. "If any man will not work neither shall he eat." The interests of rural and civic labor are the same; their enemies are identical.

3. We believe that the time has come when the railroad corporations will either own the people or the people must own the railroads, and should the Government enter upon the work of owning and managing any and all railroads we should favor an amendment to the Constitution by which all persons engaged in the Government service shall be placed under a civil service regulation of the most rigid character, so as to prevent the increase of the power of the National Administration by the use of such additional Government employees.

We demand a national currency, safe, sound, and flexible, issued by the general Government only, a full legal tender for all debts, public and private, and that without the use of banking corporations, a just, equitable, and efficient means of distribution direct to the people, at a tax not to exceed two per cent. per annum, to be provided as set forth in the sub-Treasury plan of the Farmers' Alliance or some better system; also by payment in discharge of its obligations for public improvements.

We demand the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1.

We demand that the amount of the circulating medium be speedily increased to not less than $50 per capita.

We demand a graduated income tax.

We believe that the monies of the country should be kept as much as possible in the hands of the people, and hence we demand that all national and State revenues shall be limited to the necessary expenses, economically and honestly administered.

We demand that postal savings banks be established by the

Government for the safe deposit of the earnings of the people and to facilitate exchange.

Transportation being a means of exchange and a public necessity, the Government should own and operate the railroads in the interest of the people.

The telegraph and telephone, like the Post Office system, being a necessity for the transmission of news, should be owned and operated by the Government in the interest of the people.

The land, including all the natural sources of wealth, is the heritage of all the people, and should not be monopolized for speculative purposes, and alien ownership of land should be prohibited. All lands now held by railroads and other corporations in excess of their actual needs, and all lands now owned by aliens should be reclaimed by the Government and held for actual settlers only.

For later Platforms see Appendix, page 557.

Presidential Popular Vote in 1884 and 1888.

PRESIDENTIAL POPULAR VOTE, 1884.

STATES.	CLEVELAND, *Democrat.*	BLAINE, *Republican.*	BUTLER, *Greenback.*	ST. JOHN, *Prohibition.*	CLEVELAND'S PLURALITY.	BLAINE'S PLURALITY.
Alabama	92,973	59,144	762	610	33,829	.....
Arkansas	72,927	50,895	1,847	.....	22,032	.....
California	89,288	102,416	2,017	2,920	.....	13,128
Colorado	27,603	36,166	1,961	762	.....	8,563
Connecticut	67,182	65,898	1,685	2,494	1,284	.....
Delaware	16,976	13,053	10	64	3,923	.....
Florida	31,769	28,031	....	72	3,738	.....
Georgia	94,653	47,692	135	168	46,961	.....
Illinois	312,584	337,411	10,849	2,005	.....	24,827
Indiana	244,992	238,480	8,293	3,028	6,512	.....
Iowa	177,316	197,089	.....	1,472	.....	19,773
Kansas	90,132	154,406	16,341	4,954	.....	64,274
Kentucky	152,961	118,122	1,693	3,139	34,839	.....
Louisiana	62,546	46,347	120	238	16,199	.....
Maine	51,656	71,716	3,994	2,148	.....	20,060
Maryland	96,866	85,748	578	2,827	11,118	.....
Massachusetts	122,352	146,724	24,382	9,925	.....	24,372
Michigan	189,361	192,669	753	18,403	.....	3,308
Minnesota	70,065	111,685	3,583	4,684	.....	41,620
Mississippi	76,510	43,509	.....	.....	33,001	.....
Missouri	235,988	202,929	.....	2,153	33,059	.....
Nebraska	54,391	76,903	.....	2,899	.....	22,512
Nevada	5,578	7,193	26	.....	.....	1,615
N. Hampshire	39,187	43,250	552	1,571	.....	4,063
New Jersey	127,778	123,366	3,456	6,153	4,412	.....
New York	563,048	562,001	17,002	25,001	1,047	.....
N. Carolina	142,952	125,068	.....	454	17,884	.....
Ohio	368,286	400,082	5,170	11,269	.....	31,796
Oregon	24,604	26,860	726	492	.....	2,256
Pennsylvania	392,785	473,804	17,002	15,737	.....	81,019
Rhode Island	12,391	19,030	422	928	.....	6,639
S. Carolina	69,764	21,733	.....	.....	48,031	.....
Tennessee	133,270	124,090	957	1,151	9,180	.....
Texas	223,679	91,701	3,321	3,508	131,978	.....
Vermont	17,331	39,514	785	1,752	.....	22,183
Virginia	145,497	139,356	.....	138	6,141	.....
West Virginia	67,317	63,096	805	939	4,221	.....
Wisconsin	146,459	161,157	4,598	7,656	.....	14,698
Total	4,911,017	4,848,334	133,825	151,809	469,389	406,706
Plurality	62,683	.....	.....	.....	62,683	.....
Per cent	48.87	48.25	1.33	1.51	.....	.....
Whole Vote	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	10,048,061

PRESIDENTIAL POPULAR VOTE, 1888.

States.	Cleveland, *Democrat.*	Harrison, *Republican.*	Fisk, *Prohibition.*	Streeter, *Union Labor.*	Cowdry, *United Labor.*	Curtis, *American.*
Alabama	117,320	56,197	583	.....	.....	.....
Arkansas	85,962	58,752	641	10,613	.....	.....
California	117,729	124,816	5,761	.....	....	1,591
Colorado	37,567	50,774	2,191	1,266	.....	.....
Connecticut	74,920	74,584	4,234	240	.....	.....
Delaware	16,414	12,973	400	.....	.....	.....
Florida	39,561	26,657	423	.....	.....	.....
Georgia	100,499	40,496	1,808	136	.....	.....
Illinois	348,278	370,473	21,695	7,090	140	.....
Indiana	261,013	263,361	9,881	2,694	.....	.....
Iowa	179,877	211,598	3,550	9,105	.....	.....
Kansas	102,745	182,904	6,779	37,788	.....	.....
Kentucky	183,800	155,134	5,225	622	.....	.....
Louisiana	85,032	30,484	160	39	.....	.....
Maine	50,481	73,734	2,691	1,344	.....	.....
Maryland	106,168	99,986	4,767	.....	.....	.....
Massachusetts	151,855	183,892	8,701	.....	.....	.....
Michigan	213,469	236,387	20,942	4,555	.....	.....
Minnesota	104,385	142,492	15,311	1,094	.....	.....
Mississippi	85,471	30,096	218	22	.....	.....
Missouri	261,974	236,257	4,539	18,632	.....	.....
Nebraska	80,552	108,425	9,429	4,226	.....	.....
Nevada	5,326	7,229	41	.....	.....	.....
N. Hampshire	43,382	45,724	1,566	13	.....	.....
New Jersey	151,493	144,344	7,904	.....	.....	.....
New York	635,757	648,759	30,231	626	2,668	.....
N. Carolina	147,902	134,784	2,789	47	.....	.....
Ohio	396,455	416,054	24,356	3,496	.....	.....
Oregon	26,522	33,291	1,677	363	.....	.....
Pennsylvania	446,633	526 091	20,947	3,873	.....	.....
Rhode Island	17,530	21,908	1,250	18	.....	.....
S. Carolina	65,825	13,736	....	.....	.....	.....
Tennessee	158,779	138,988	5,969	48	.....	.....
Texas	234,883	88,422	4,749	29,459	.....	.....
Vermont	16,788	45,192	1,460	.....	.....	.....
Virginia	151,977	150,438	1,678	.....	.....	.....
West Virginia	78,677	78,171	1,084	1,508	.....	.....
Wisconsin	155,232	176,553	14,277	8,552	.....	.....
Total	5,538,233	5,440,216	249,907	148,105	2,808	1,591
Pluralities	98,017	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Whole Vote	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	11,380,860

Plumed Knight.—A *sobriquet* of James G. Blaine, originating in a speech of Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll, who said: "Like an armed warrior, like a plumed knight, James G. Blaine marched down the halls of the American Congress and threw his shining lance full and fair against the brazen forehead of every defamer of this country and maligner of its honor."

Political Bargain is a corrupt arrangement whereby a politician promises support to a measure or man in consideration of similar support to be given to some measure or man of his choice. The election of John Quincy Adams in 1824 was charged to a bargain between him and Henry Clay, the price being the Secretaryship of State. Clay was, as a matter of fact, appointed to this position, but although the charge clung to him, and in after years injured him politically, there is no proof of its truth. Clay always denied the charge. Political bargains are now so common as not to be matters either for surprise or comment.

Political Boss is a politician that absolutely controls his party or faction. Such were Tweed and Kelly in New York.

Political Workers. (*See Boys, The.*)

Polk, James Knox, was born in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, November 2, 1795. He died at Nashville, Tennessee, June 15, 1849. He was graduated at the University of North Carolina and admitted to the bar. In politics he was a Democrat. He was a member of the House of Representatives from 1825 to 1839, and during the last four years was speaker. From 1839 to 1843 he was Governor of Tennessee; from 1845 to 1849 he was President. During his administration the Mexican War was fought and the Oregon boundary dispute was settled.

Poll Tax.—A poll tax is a tax levied on every head or *poll* of the population. It is a direct tax, and in its original form bears necessarily more heavily on the poor than on the rich; the tendency at present, therefore, is to supply its place with an income tax. Congress has power, by Article 1, section 9, of the Constitution, to

levy a poll tax in proportion to the census, but this power has never been exercised. The States, however, have very generally levied such taxes. In 1860 it was employed by twenty-seven of the States and Territories. It is not now so common, and some of the State Constitutions forbid it. In some States, as in Massachusetts, its payment is a necessary pre-requisite for voting. Where it is employed it is not uncommon to except certain classes, as ministers, from its payment.

Pond Tax Law. (*See Prohibition.*)

Poor Man's Dollar.—The silver dollar is so-called by those favoring its compulsory coinage. (*See Silver Question.*)

Poor Richard.—In 1732 Benjamin Franklin began the publication of "Poor Richard's Almanac." It has become renowned by reason of the homely but striking maxims it contained.

Popular Sovereignty.—This name was applied to the doctrine that the principle of slavery "should be kept out of the national Legislature, and left to the people of the Confederacy in their respective local governments." It was first stated as above by Lewis Cass in 1847. Behind this doctrine the Northern Democrats sought refuge, both from the Wilmot Proviso and from the Southern demands for active measures in benalf of slavery. On the other hand, Calhoun maintained that a man's right to his property, even though it be in slaves, must *everywhere* be maintained, so that a man could take his slave into any territory regardless of the wishes of the inhabitants thereof. Calhoun nicknamed the doctrine "squatter" sovereignty. Douglas, its chief supporter, maintained that it was the basis of the compromise of 1850, and in the Kansas-Nebraska Bill another attempt to apply it was made. But when it became evident that this doctrine meant the admission of all future Territories as free, the interpretation was strained so as to bring it within Calhoun's declarations, on the ground that a Territory could not manifest its intentions on the subject until it was ready to be admitted as a State, in other words, not through its Territorial

government. A disagreement on this subject led to the withdrawal of a part of the Democratic national convention which nominated Douglas in 1860.

Population of the United States.—The table on page 399 gives the population of the United States as shown by the decennial census which the Constitution provides for (Article 1, section 2, clause 3). Indians not taxed are excluded, as are also the whole populations of Alaska and Indian Territory, which have not yet been fully organized. The first were estimated in 1881 at 245,000; the second, in 1880, at 30,178; and the third, in 1880, at 70,000. The total population, actual and estimated, in 1880 was about 50,500,000. The totals of the last three censuses include a few Chinese, Japanese and civilized or taxed Indians, who together numbered 1,054 in 1880.

According to the census of 1890 the total population of the United States was 62,622,250.

The following table shows the population of the various States and Territories for 1890:

States and Territories.	1890.	States and Territories.	1890.
Alabama	1,513,017	Montana	132,159
Arizona	59,620	Nebraska	1,058,910
Arkansas	1,128,179	Nevada	45,761
California	1,208,130	New Hampshire	376,530
Colorado	419,198	New Jersey	1,444,933
Connecticut	746,258	New Mexico	153,593
Dakota	.....	New York	5,997,853
Delaware	168,493	North Carolina	1,617,947
District of Columbia	230,392	North Dakota	182,719
Florida	391,422	Ohio	3,672,316
Georgia	1,837,353	Oklahoma	61,834
Idaho	84,385	Oregon	313,767
Illinois	3,826,351	Pennsylvania	5,258,014
Indiana	2,192,404	Rhode Island	345,506
Iowa	1,911,896	South Carolina	1,151,149
Kansas	1,427,096	South Dakota	328,808
Kentucky	1,858,635	Tennessee	1,767,518
Louisiana	1,118,587	Texas	2,235,523
Maine	661,086	Utah	207,905
Maryland	1,042,390	Vermont	332,422
Massachusetts	2,238,943	Virginia	1,655,980
Michigan	2,093,889	Washington	349,390
Minnesota	1,301,826	West Virginia	762,704
Mississippi	1,289,600	Wisconsin	1,686,880
Missouri	2,679,184	Wyoming	60,705
Total			62,622,250

Population and Congressional Representation.—Under the act to apportion representatives in Congress among the States under the Federal census of population in 1890, which passed Congress and was approved February 7, 1891, the whole number of representives after March 4, 1893, will be 356. In accordance with the act, the several States will be represented in the lower House of the Fifty-third Congress and will be entitled to electoral votes as follows: Alabama, 9 representatives and 11 electoral votes; Arkansas, 6 representatives and 8 electoral votes; California, 7 representatives and 9 electoral votes; Colorado, 2 representatives and 4 electoral votes; Connecticut, 4 representatives and 6 electoral votes; Delaware, 1 representative and 3 electoral votes; Florida, 2 representives and 4 electoral votes; Georgia, 11 representatives and 13 electoral votes; Idaho, 1 representative and 3 electoral votes; Illinois, 22 representatives and 24 electoral votes; Indiana, 13 representatives and 15 electoral votes; Iowa, 11 representatives and 13 electoral votes; Kansas, 8 representatives and 10 electoral votes; Kentucky, 11 representatives and 13 electoral votes; Louisiana, 6 representatives and 8 electoral votes; Maine, 4 representatives and 6 electoral votes; Maryland, 6 representatives and 8 electoral votes; Massachusetts, 13 representatives and 15 electoral votes; Michigan, 12 representatives and 14 electoral votes; Minnesota, 7 representatives and 9 electoral votes; Mississippi, 7 representatives and 9 electoral votes; Missouri, 15 representatives and 17 electoral votes; Montana, 1 representative and 3 electoral votes; Nebraska, 6 representatives and 8 electoral votes; Nevada, 1 representative and 3 electoral votes; New Hampshire, 2 representatives and 4 electoral votes; New Jersey, 8 representatives and 10 electoral votes; New York, 34 representatives and 36 electoral votes; North Carolina, 9 representatives and 11 electoral votes; North Dakota, 1 representative and 3 electoral votes, Ohio, 21 representatives and 22 electoral votes; Oregon, 2 representatives and 4 electoral votes; Pennsylvania; 30 representatives and 32 electoral votes; Rhode Island,

2 representatives and 4 electoral votes; South Carolina, 7 representatives and 9 electoral votes; South Dakota, 2 representatives and 4 electoral votes; Tennessee, 10 representatives and 12 electoral votes; Texas, 13 representatives and 15 electoral votes; Vermont, 2 representatives and 4 electoral votes; Virginia, 10 representatives and 12 electoral votes; Washington, 2 representatives and 4 electoral votes; West Virginia, 4 representatives and 6 electoral votes; Wisconsin, 10 representatives and 12 electoral votes; Wyoming, 1 representative and 3 electoral votes. By this apportionment the membership of the House of Representatives will be increased from 332 to 356, and 223 electoral votes will be necessary for a choice. When a State fails to re-district before the election following the re-apportionment, the additional members of the House from that State are elected by the entire State instead of by districts, and such members are known as Congressmen at Large.

Popular Names of Cities.—The nicknames given to the various prominent cities in the United States are as follows: Brooklyn, N. Y., City of Churches; Boston, Hub of the Universe; Baltimore, Monumental City; Buffalo, Queen City of the Lakes; Chicago, Garden City; Cincinnati, Queen City; Cleveland, Forest City; Detroit, City of the Straits; Hannibal, Bluff City; Indianapolis, Railroad City; Keokuk, Gate City; Louisville, Falls City; Lowell, City of Spindles; New York, Gotham, Empire City; New Orleans, Crescent City; Nashville, City of Rocks; New Haven, City of Elms; Philadelphia, Quaker City, City of Brotherly Love; Pittsburg, Iron City; Portland, Me., Forest City; Rochester, Flour City; St. Louis, Mound City; Springfield, Ill., Flower City; Washington, D. C., City of Magnificent Distances.

Porcelaine Currency—or more properly Wampum—was a kind of money used originally by the Indians and later adopted by the English, Dutch and French colonists. It consisted of coins or beads made from the black or purple eye of the common hard shell clam and

from the stem of the shell of the periwinkle. Through the center of the coin or bead, a small hole was drilled and they were then strung on threads or strings made from the sinews of deer, or else woven into various kinds of belts. The English, French and Dutch colonists adopted wampum as a medium of exchange, the New Netherlands colony records 1662 note "kept in *wampum* and beaver skins." Massachusetts colony in 1687 ordered it should pass "six a penny" for any sum under twelve pence; Connecticut and New Haven in 1640 adopted it also, a fair fathom of purple wampum being worth ten shillings, and one fathom of white wampum five shillings. The records of New Amsterdam (New York city) of 1641 authorizes "four beads of good black well-strung wampum or eight of the white" to be reckoned the value of *one stuyver*, a Dutch coin worth about one cent. Wampum was called by the Dutch, *Zewant*.

Pork.—A term used in politics to designate the spoils of legislation. (*See Log Rolling*).

Postal Currency.—This currency was the invention of General Spinner, who represented the Syracuse district of New York in Congress and was appointed Treasurer of the United States by President Lincoln. During the war and until the resumption of specie payment there was a great scarcity of change. Spinner being appealed to from all quarters to take some measure to supply the demand for small change, silver having vanished, was powerless, as he had no law under which be could act. In his dilemma he thought of the postage stamp, and sent down to the post-office department and purchased a quantity of stamps. He then ordered a package of the paper upon which Government securities are printed, which he cut into various sizes. On these pieces he pasted stamps to represent different amounts, thus initiating a substitute for fractional silver. This was not, however, a Government transaction in any sense; it could not be. The General distributed his improvised currency among the clerks of the department, and finally through imitation it be-

came the medium of small exchange. From this General Spinner got his idea of fractional currency, and went before Congress with it which body readily adopted it by an act July 17, 1862, authorizing it to be used as currency in sums of less than five dollars.

Postal Service.—The first mention of a postal service in the United States is that of the General Court of Massachusetts in 1639: "It is ordered that notice be given that Richard Fairbanks, his house in Boston is the place appointed for all letters which are brought from beyond the seas, or are to be sent thither to be left with him, and he is to take care that they are to be delivered or sent according to the direction. And he is allowed for every letter a penny, and must answer all miscarriages through his own neglect in this kind."

Postmaster-General. (*See Post-Office Department.*)

Post-Office Department is one of the executive departments of the government. It was established by Act of May 8, 1794. The Postmaster-General, who is at its head, is a member of the President's Cabinet, by virtue of a custom that originated in the time of Andrew Jackson. His salary is $8,000 per annum. He is appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. The department has charge of the transmission of mail matter, the preparation of stamps and postal cards, the issue of money orders and postal notes, the establishment and discontinuance of post-offices, and the appointment of postmasters whose salaries are $1,000 or under; of these there were 61,387, June 30, 1891. During the fiscal year of 1891 the revenue of the department was $65,931,786, and its expenditures $71,662,463. In the transaction of this business the Postmaster-General is assisted by

	SALARY.
First Assistant	$4,000
Second Assistant	4,000
Third Assistant	4,000
Fourth Assistant	4,000
Superintendent of Foreign Mails	3,000
Superintendent of Money Orders	3,500

The following is a complete list of all the Postmasters-General:

NOT MEMBERS OF THE CABINET.

NAME.	STATE.	YEARS.
Samuel Osgood	Massachusetts	1789—1791.
Timothy Pickering	Pennsylvania	1791—1795.
Joseph Habersham	Georgia	1795—1801.
Gideon Granger	Connecticut	1801—1814.
Return J. Meigs, Jr	Ohio	1814—1823.
John McLean	Ohio	1823—1829.

MEMBERS OF THE CABINET.

NAME.	STATE.	YEARS.
William T. Barry	Kentucky	1829—1835.
Amos Kendall	Kentucky	1835—1840.
John M. Niles	Connecticut	1840—1841.
Francis Granger	New York	1841—1841.
Charles A. Wickliffe	Kentucky	1841—1845.
Cave Johnson	Tennessee	1845—1849.
Jacob Collamer	Vermont	1849—1850.
Nathan K. Hall	New York	1850—1852.
Samuel D. Hubbard	Connecticut	1852—1853.
James Campbell	Pennsylvania	1853—1857.
Aaron V. Brown	Tennessee	1857—1859.
Joseph Holt	Kentucky	1859—1861.
Horatio King	Maine	1861—1861.
Montgomery Blair	Maryland	1861—1864.
William Dennison	Ohio	1864—1866.
Alexander W. Randall	Wisconsin	1866—1869.
John A. J. Creswell	Maryland	1869—1874.
Marshall Jewell	Connecticut	1874—1876.
James M. Tyner	Indiana	1876—1877.
David McK. Key	Tennessee	1877—1880.
Horace Maynard	Tennessee	1880—1881.
Thomas L. James	New York	1881—1881.
Timothy O. Howe	Wisconsin	1881—1883.
Walter Q. Gresham	Indiana	1883—1884.
Frank Hatton	Iowa	1884—1885.
William F. Vilas	Wisconsin	1885—1887.
D. M. Dickinson	Michigan	1887—1889
John Wanamaker	Pennsylvania	1889—

President by Three Votes.—John Adams was so called, he having seventy-one electoral votes to sixty-eight for Jefferson.

Presidential Bee.—When a man has presidential aspirations and allows his public acts to be influenced by his desire to draw votes, his action is frequently ascribed to his having the presidential bee in his bonnet. The reference is probably to a certain uneasiness in the deportment of an individual under both circumstances.

Presidential Fever.—When a man is thought to be very anxious to become President, his acts are frequently explained on the theory that he has the presidential fever, as it is called, meaning thereby that his aspirations and his consequent desire to become popular have rendered his public acts abnormal, just as fever does the physical system.

Presidential Flag. (*See Flag, Presidential.*)

Presidential Succession.—The Constitution, Article 2, section 1, provides that "in case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation or inability to discharge . . . the duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President," the power to provide for further contingencies being left with Congress. This Congress did by means of the Act of March 1, 1792. In cases of death, of removal by impeachment, or of resignation no difficulties are met with, but the power to declare the "inability" of the President in cases where the same is not on the surface, as in insanity, is lodged nowhere. In such a case the Vice-President would probably take it upon himself to act as President, and the Supreme Court would be the final judge of the validity of his acts. The law of 1792 declares that in case of inability of the Vice-President the office devolves on the president *pro tempore* of the Senate, and after him on the Speaker of the House, until a new election can be ordered. It also provided that the Secretary of State should notify the Executives of the States of any vacancy in the Executive office by reason of failure on the part of the Vice-President, and if at that date there be still two months intervening before the first Wednesday in December (the day on which the electors vote), then an election for President shall be ordered to be held within thirty-four days preceding the

latter day. If the intervening time be less than two months, and the current presidential term expire on the 4th of March following, then no election for the unexpired term takes place; but if the time be less than two months, and the term does not so expire, then a new election shall be ordered for the following year. The Twelfth Amendment provides that in cases in which the House has not exercised its right of choosing a President (when the choice falls to it) by March 4th following, the Vice-President shall act as President; but fails to provide for a contingency where neither President nor Vice-President is selected, and where no President *pro tempore* of the Senate has been chosen. The assassination of Garfield at a time when the House was not organized and while there was no President *pro tempore* of the Senate, led to agitation of the subject, and in 1883 a bill was introduced into the Senate to regulate this matter, but it was not considered by the House. In December, 1885, substantially the same bill was again introduced and this time passed. It was approved January 19, 1886. Its provisions are as follows: In case of inability on the part of both President and Vice-President, the Executive office falls to the Cabinet officers in the following order, provided the officer on whom it devolves has been confirmed by the Senate, and is by birth and otherwise qualified to hold the office: The Secretaries of State, of the Treasury, of War, the Attorney-General, the Postmaster-General, the Secretaries of the Navy, of the Interior. The officer thus selected serves out the unexpired term.

President Pro Tempore of the Senate. (*See Vice-President of the United States.*)

Presidents, Coincidence in the Ages of.—John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, James Monroe and John Quincy Adams, each of them, except John Adams, was in his fifty-eighth year when inaugurated, as was also Washington. Each, except John Quincy Adams, closed his term in his sixty-sixth year. Each was, therefore, eight years older than his successor.

President of the United States.—For the powers of the President, *see Executive.* Below is a list of the Presidents of the United States:

NAME.	STATE.	TERM.
George Washington	Virginia	April 30, 1789—1797
*John Adams	Massachusetts.	March 4, 1797—1801
†Thomas Jefferson	Virginia	March 4, 1801—1809
†James Madison	Virginia	March 4, 1809—1817
†James Monroe	Virginia	March 4, 1817—1825
‡John Quincy Adams	Massachusetts.	March 4, 1825—1829
§Andrew Jackson	Tennessee	March 4, 1829—1837
§Martin Van Buren	New York	March 4, 1837—1841
‖William Henry Harrison	Ohio	March 4, 1841—1841
‖John Tyler	Virginia	April 6, 1841—1845
§James Knox Polk	Tennessee	March 4, 1845—1849
‖Zachary Taylor	Louisiana	March 4, 1849—1850
‖Millard Fillmore	New York	July 10, 1850—1853
§Franklin Pierce	New Hamps're	March 4, 1853—1857
§James Buchanan	Pennsylvania	March 4, 1857—1861
¶Abraham Lincoln	Illinois	March 4, 1861—1865
¶Andrew Johnson	Tennessee	April 15, 1865—1869
¶Ulysses Simpson Grant	Illinois	March 4, 1869—1877
¶Rutherford Birchard Hayes.	Ohio	March 4, 1877—1881
¶James Abram Garfield	Ohio	March 4, 1881—1881
¶Chester Alan Arthur	New York	Sept. 20, 1881—1885
§Grover Cleveland	New York	March 4, 1885—1889
¶Benjamin Harrison	Indiana	March 4, 1889—

* Federalist. † Republican (Democratic). ‡ Coalition. § Democrat. ‖ Whig. ¶ Republican.

Presidents de Facto and de Jure.—The presidential election of 1876 was practically decided by the Electoral Commission. Many of the adherents of Samuel J. Tilden, the defeated nominee, asserted that his defeat was the result of fraud, and to emphasize this belief they persisted in speaking of him as President *de jure* (by right) and of Rutherford B. Hayes, the successful candidate, as President *de facto* (actual President as distinguished from rightful President).

President's Message.—Article 2, section 3 of the Constitution declares that the President "shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." This section has led to the annual messages

which it is the custom of the President to lay before Congress immediately on its assembling. Washington and Adams read these to Congress in person. Jefferson inaugurated the custom since followed of sending it to the House. This message deals, in more or less detail, with the internal and foreign affairs of the nation, stating what steps have been taken in any direction, and recommending such as the President deems necessary. The message of President Cleveland to the Fiftieth Congress at its first session was an exception in this respect, dealing only with the subject of the reduction of the tariff, his object being to emphasize the importance of that subject, in view of the rapidly increasing surplus. This course had been adopted by but one President before him. President Madison's messages in 1813 and 1814, during the War of 1812, related exclusively to that struggle.

Primary Convention. (*See Nominating Conventions.*)

Privateer.—A privateer is an armed vessel owned, equipped and manned by private parties, which bears a commission (called letters of marque or letters of marque and reprisal) from a government to attack and seize the property of enemies at sea. The inducement to individuals to engage in privateering is a share in the prizes captured. The practice has been recognized by international law. The advantage to a belligerent State is an increase of its effective naval forces, which is especially desirable when the regular navy is small. The drawbacks to the system are that privateers, actuated by the hope of gain and not being under any naval discipline, are liable to infringe the rights of neutrals and to disregard the limits of legitimate war. During the last hundred years various steps have been taken to abolish privateering. The most important step was taken in 1856, just after the Crimean War, when by the Declarations of Paris many of the nations of Europe agreed not to employ privateers against each other. All the chief states of Europe and America have since given their adherence to this declaration except Spain, the United States and

Mexico. The United States was willing to become a party to the agreement only on condition that all private property at sea, not contraband, should be exempt from capture. But this "Marcy" or "American" amendment, as it was called, was not accepted. During the Civil War the Confederate States offered letters of marque to persons of all countries, but no admittedly foreign vessels were so commissioned. During the same period the Congress of the United States empowered the President to grant commissions to privateers, but none such were granted. In 1861 the United States offered to assent to the Declarations of Paris, but England and France declined our adherence unless on condition (which was, of course, not accepted) that our action should have no bearing on the "internal differences prevailing in the United States." This government is far from favoring the system of privateering, although Congress is permitted by Article 1, section 8, of the Constitution, to "grant letters of marque and reprisal," and among civilized nations the commissioning of privateers is practically at an end.

Private Legislation is the passage by Congress, or a State Legislature, of an act which affects only individuals or particular classes of men or things. "Private act" is a term used in opposition to a "general law" which affects the whole community.

Proclamation of Amnesty.—In the history of this country there have been five such proclamations: all had relation to the Civil War. The first was issued by President Lincoln December 8, 1863. The Act of Congress of July 17, 1862, had authorized it, notwithstanding the fact that a general pardoning power, in cases of offense against the United States, is granted to the President by the Constitution. This proclamation offered pardon and restoration of all property, except slaves or in cases where rights of third parties would be interfered with, to all persons then in rebellion against the government, on condition of their taking a prescribed oath. This oath declares adherence to and support of the Constitution and the Union and of all laws and proclamations

regarding slaves and slavery "so long and so far as not modified or declared void by the decision of the Supreme Court." From this offer there were excepted all persons that had left any Federal position or office to join the Confederacy, all civil or diplomatic officers and army or navy officers of the Confederate States above certain rank, and those that had treated Federal colored soldiers otherwise than lawfully as prisoners of war. March 26, 1864, a supplemental proclamation stated that the offer was not open to prisoners of war. May 29, 1865, President Johnson issued a similar proclamation, the oath being somewhat shorter, but of the same import as of the former To the former exceptions were added Confederate foreign agents, Confederate soldiers or officers who were graduates from West Point and Annapolis, Governors of rebel States, deserters, privateersmen, Canada raiders, persons worth over $20,000, and those that had broken an oath taken under the former proclamation. In 1867 a bill was passed repealing the Act of July 17, 1862. Johnson neither signed nor vetoed it, and it became a law. September 7, 1867, Johnson issued another proclamation, the third of the kind. It offered amnesty to all that would take an oath almost identical with that of the proclamation of 1865, excepting only the President, Vice-President and heads of departments of the Confederacy, army and navy officers above certain high ranks, foreign agents, Governors of States, those that had treated prisoners of war unlawfully, those held in legal confinement and parties to Lincoln's assassination. President Johnson's proclamation of July 4, 1868, offered amnesty to all except those under indictment in a Federal court, and his proclamation of December 25, 1868, offered it to all unconditionally without the formality of any oath. Section 3 of the Fourteenth Amendment places disability to hold office on those that had held certain officers under the United States and had then engaged in rebellion, but Congress was empowered to remove the disability by a two-thirds vote of each House. Many have availed themselves of this power. The Act of May 22, 1872, removed the disability of all

except only those that had been members of the Thirty-sixth and Thirty-seventh Congresses, judicial, army or navy officers, heads of departments or foreign ministers, and holding such offices had engaged in rebellion. An attempt to sweep away even these restrictions failed in 1873.

Progressive Labor Party.—This organization began its life as a separate political party after seceding from the Syracuse, (N. Y.) Convention of the United Labor Party. (*See that title.*) It held its own convention in New York, September 28, 1887, adopted a platform and nominated a candidate for Secretary of State of New York. He received 7,622 votes out of a total of 1,045,376, most of the votes coming from New York City. The principal points of its platform were as follows: "That all should have free access to land and to the instruments of production without tribute to landlords and monopolists;" woman suffrage; "repeal of all conspiracy laws, tramp laws and all class legislation and privileges;" "the public ownership and management of . . . all industries involving the use of public franchises or the performance of public functions," and the submission to the people for rejection or approval of all important laws.

Prohibition.—The object of the Prohibitionists is to obtain laws prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors, except for the purpose of manufacturing industries, science and art. They argue that this is advisable because vast sums of money are annually wasted by the people in the purchase of liquor, and its consumption reduces the productiveness of labor; because pauperism and crime are largely increased thereby; because the habit of drinking renders the citizen less able to serve in defense of the government when necessary; and because the government should protect the defenceless women and children who are most injured by drunkenness. The opponents of prohibition dispute some of the facts of its advocates, assert that drunkenness is rather the accompaniment than the cause of pauperism and crime, and argue that in any event pro-

hibitory laws cannot be enforced, and that a high license system (*see High License*) will be more effectual in restraining the sale of liquor. They also contend that prohibitory laws infringe the individual liberty of the citizen. On December 5, 1887, the Supreme Court of the United States rendered an important decision, holding that it is within the discretionary police powers of a State to protect the public health, safety and morals, even by the destruction of property, and that the Kansas laws, providing for the destruction, without compensation, of property used in connection with liquor-selling, do not violate the provision in the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution that "no State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, nor shall any State deprive any person of . . . property, without due process of law." The Prohibitionists have been a factor of importance in the politics of some of the States since about the middle of the century. A prohibitory law was passed in Maine in 1846, and in 1851 a more stringent one, including a provision for the seizure and destruction of intoxicating liquors, (known as the "Maine Law" and drafted by General Neal Dow), was enacted and has since been in force, except for the years 1856 and 1857. Vermont in 1852, New Hampshire in 1855, and Connecticut in 1854, passed the Maine Law; the first has retained and enforced it, the second has retained and not enforced it, and the last never enforced it and repealed it in 1872. New York had the Maine Law on the statute books between 1855 and 1857. Ohio and Michigan by their Constitutions forbade the passage of a license law, thus leaving the mere alternative between free liquor and prohibition. This clause of Michigan's Constitution has been repealed: the question of replacing it was defeated in 1887, by a small popular majority. In Ohio attempts have been made to tax the sale of liquor by the "Pond Tax Law," and the "Scott Tax Law," but both of these were pronounced unconstitutional by the courts. A Prohibitory Amendment to the Constitution of Kansas was ratified by the people in 1880, and this has been

enforced by legislation. A similar amendment was passed in Iowa in 1882, and had a large popular majority, but the next year it was pronounced unconstitutional for informalities in its passage. In 1884 a prohibitory law was passed. In North Carolina in 1881, a prohibitory law, submitted to popular vote, was defeated (166,000 to 48,000 in round numbers). After several previous trials of prohibition, Rhode Island in 1887, passed a stringent prohibitory law. In 1887, on the question of prohibitory amendments to the State Constitutions, the Prohibitionists were defeated by large majorities in Oregon, Tennessee and Texas. Most of the States have passed laws prohibiting the sale of liquor to minors and on Sundays. Many States have adopted local option, and a few are trying high license. (*See those titles.*) Such is a brief outline of the more important successes and defeats of prohibition in the States. National conventions of the Prohibition party (previous to 1884, called the Prohibition Home Protection party) have been held from time to time and candidates have been nominated for the presidency and vice-presidency of the United States, and have received votes as follows:

		POPULAR VOTE.
1872.....	James Black, of Pennsylvania, Rev. John Mitchell, of Michigan,	5,608
1876.....	Green Clay Smith, of Kentucky, Gideon T. Stewart, of Ohio,	9,737
1880.....	Neal Dow, of Maine, Rev. H. A. Thompson, of Ohio,	11,640
1884.....	John P. St. John, of Kansas, William Daniel, of Maryland,	151,070
1888.....	Clinton B. Fisk Rev. John A. Brooks, of Missouri.	244,034

The aggregate Prohibition vote in the various State elections of 1886 was 294,863. In the national election of 1884, a considerable number of votes was drawn from each of the principal political parties, but chiefly from the Republicans, and the defeat of the Republicans in that campaign has been charged by some to the Prohibitionists. At the last national convention of the Prohibition party, held at Pittsburg, in July, 1884, a considerable number of the delegates were women. For the

platform adopted by that convention (*See Party Platforms*).

Pro-Slavery.—Those that sympathized with the institution of slavery in this country were said to hold pro-slavery views.

Protection, in relation to the industries of a country (in which sense the word is generally used), means the prevention of ruinous foreign competition. This may be accomplished (1) by absolutely prohibiting the importation of certain articles; (2) by levying a duty on them that is practically prohibitive; (3) by granting premiums on certain exports; (4) by granting drawbacks, which are rebates of the whole, or nearly the whole, duty that has been paid on imported materials when these have been manufactured at home and exported; or (5) by so arranging the rates of duty on importations as to make their cost to the consumer equal to or greater than the cost of similar domestic products. The first three methods are not relied on in this country for purposes of protection, while the last two have been and are still extensively used. The last method is the more prominent, and around it the arguments for and against protection group themselves. The reasoning of the protectionists is long and complicated. A few of their more important propositions may be briefly stated as follows: The United States as a nation is bound to secure advantages for its own citizens before regarding other countries; protective duties compel foreigners to pay part of our taxes; without protection we should become chiefly an agricultural country, and such countries are comparatively poor and weak; diversified industries are called into being or strengthened by a protective tariff, and these are valuable to a nation in time of peace and necessary in time of war; the destruction of protection would mean that the labor of this country would have to compete with the cheaper labor (usually called "pauper labor") abroad; wages would fall and the American laborer would be reduced to the low level of life common to laborers abroad; the investment of capital at home is encouraged by protection, and on this the working classes depend; even if protection were

a questionable policy to inaugurate, now that it is established in this country it should be continued for the sake of justice to invested capital and to prevent the financial disasters that would result from a revolution in our industries. To the arguments of the free-traders they reply that governments have very generally found it necessary or advisable to regulate to some extent the trade of their citizens or subjects; that protection benefits the whole nation, not merely a part, by keeping up the price of labor; that no free trade argument can be drawn from inter-State commerce, since the localizing of industries can do no harm when all the localities are parts of a single whole; that competition between home industries will keep prices down to a fair point. Since the Civil War the Republican party has been practically a unit in supporting a protective tariff. Before that period members of both parties were found on each side of the line. The tariff has never been the main issue in a presidential election, though in 1880 and 1884 the Republicans strove to increase its importance. (*See Free Trade.*)

Put None But Americans on Guard To-Night.—One of the mottoes of the "Know Nothings." This sentence is supposed to have been the countersign on the eve of an important Revolutionary battle, and is attributed by some to Putnam and by others to Washington.

Qualifications of Voters.—The President of the United States is chosen by electors appointed in each State "in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct." (Constitution Article 2, section 1.) Senators are chosen by the Legislatures of the State. (Constitution Article 1, section 3.) Representatives are chosen by the people "and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature." (Constitution Article 1, section 2.) It thus appears that the qualifications of voters for all the federal as well as for State offices are subject to the control of the respective States and, as might be expected, vary. The suffrage in general elections is in every State limited to males of a minimum age of twenty-one years. Periods of residence

in the State varying from three months to two years, are requisites to voting, and in nearly all the States shorter periods of residence in the county, town and precinct respectively. Moreover, in eighteen States only citizens by nativity or otherwise are allowed to vote; in fifteen, citizens and aliens that have declared their intention of becoming citizens: the restrictions on the latter vary; in some States mere declaration is sufficient, in others a declaration, made a certain length of time (in no case more than a year) previous, is necessary. In addition to citizenship, one State (Connecticut), requires good moral character and ability to read any article of the Constitution or Statutes; another (Delaware), the paying of the county tax after the age of twenty-two; another (New York), citizenship for ten days previous; another (Pennsylvania), citizenship of the United States for one month and, if twenty-two years of age or over, payment of a tax within two years; another (Rhode Island), on the part of foreign-born citizens, ownership of real estate to the value of $137, or seven dollars annual rental. In none of the States are women allowed to vote at general elections; in the Territories of Wyoming and Utah they are so allowed. In every State certain classes are prohibited from voting; among these are included in the various States, idiots, lunatics, persons convicted of crime punishable by imprisonment, Chinese, paupers, persons sending, bringing or accepting a duelling challenge, non-payers of taxes for certain periods, United States soldiers and marines, persons under guardianship, Indians, persons convicted of blasphemy, persons betting on the election at which they attempt to vote, deserters from the army or navy during the Civil War: in many cases those convicted of crime may have the right of suffrage restored by pardon.

Quids.—A name given to the few supporters of Randolph when he seceded from the Republican party in 1805. The Latin phrase *tertium quid*, a "third something" (as distinguished from the two powerful parties), gave rise to the name.

Race, Color or Previous Condition of Servi-

tude.—These words occur in the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution. (*See Constitution of the United States.*)

Radical Democracy.—In 1864, the Union men opposed to Lincoln's renomination issued a call for a convention which met accordingly May 31st. The circular had attacked the administration vigorously. Their platform called for the suppression of the Rebellion, the preservation of the *habeas corpus*, of the right of asylum and the Monroe Doctrine. It recommended a popular vote and only a single term for presidents, an amendment to the Constitution prohibiting slavery, and called for the confiscation of the land of rebels and its distribution among actual settlers. The name Radical Democracy was adopted; they were also known as Radical men. General John C. Fremont was nominated: he accepted the nomination, but withdrew in Lincoln's favor September 21st.

Radical Men. (*See Radical Democracy.*)

Rag Baby.—A derisive name for the Greenback idea. (*See Greenback Labor Party; Rag Currency.*)

Rag Currency.—A term of derision applied to the currency advocated by the Greenbackers, namely, paper money. (*See Greenback Labor Party.*)

Raiders.—Members of a legislative body are said to be raiders on the Treasury when they expend their best efforts in attempts to secure appropriations for purposes which are not necessary for the country, but which they desire because of the patronage connected therewith or of other special advantages to their particular locality.

Railroading.—When a bill is passed without delay in a legislative assembly by the energetic efforts of corrupt members it is said to have been "railroaded" through the House.

Rail Splitter.—A *sobriquet* of Abraham Lincoln, who split the rails for fences when, in his early life, his family made a clearing in Illinois and built a log-house.

Randall, Samuel J., was born in Philadelphia, October 10, 1828. He served in the local government of Philadelphia and also in the State Senate. In 1862 he

was elected to Congress, and was continuously reëlected. In the Forty-fourth Congress he was elected speaker to fill the vacancy caused by the death of M. C. Kerr. He was elected to the same office in the Forty-fifth and Forty-sixth Congresses. He was the leader of the high tariff wing of the Democratic party. Died April 13, 1890.

Randolph, John, of Roanoke, was born in Chesterfield County, Virginia, June 2, 1773, and died at Philadelphia May 24, 1833. He served in Congress from 1799 to 1813, from 1815 to 1817 and from 1819 to 1823; from 1825 to 1827 he was in the Senate and from 1827 to 1829 again in the House. In 1830 he was for a short time Minister to Russia. He was a Democrat, although at various times antagonizing his party. He was a man of extraordinary ability, though extremely eccentric. His person was spare and his voice very shrill. One of his foibles was his pride in his descent from Pocahontas.

Re-admission of Southern States. (*See Reconstruction; Admission of States to the Union.*)

Rebel Brigadiers is a phrase applied to men in public life that served in the Confederate Army during the Civil War. The phrase is applied irrespective of the rank they held. It is a venomous phrase and used only by their opponents.

Rebellion.—The name given in the North to the Civil War (*which see*).

Rebs.—An abbreviation for rebels, the word used at the North to characterize the Confederates.

Receipts and Expenditures of the United States. (*See Expenditures and Receipts of the United States.*)

Recent Unpleasantness, The.—Same as *Late Unpleasantness* (*which see*).

Reciprocity is the granting by one nation of certain commercial privileges to another, whereby the citizens of the latter are put on an equal basis with citizens of the former in certain branches of commerce. The term was formerly used chiefly with reference to shipping, but is now applied also to privileges concerning imports. One nation agrees to reduce or abrogate entirely the

duties on certain merchandise imported from another, in return for like concessions as regards itself. It is customary to provide that, should either of the parties to the treaty grant more favorable conditions to a third nation, such privileges should inure also to the benefit of the other party to the treaty; such an agreement is called the "most favored nation" clause of the treaty. Reciprocity existed between the United States and Canada from 1854 to 1856 as to many articles, and now exists between this country and the Hawaiian Islands, as to certain products of each country, by a treaty made in 1876. The latter treaty was intended to benefit the sugar refiners of the Pacific coast. But it is not a part of the regular policy of the United States to engage in reciprocity with foreign nations.

Reconstruction.—The end of the Civil War saw the governments of the Southern States overthrown; they had been declared insurgent and they were now practically in the position of conquered territory. The problem before the country was how these States were now to be treated. The plans to this end have by some writers been classified as follows: 1. The theory that there had always been a large number of Union men in these States and that as soon as a loyal government was established by these, the State by that fact again became regularly constituted. 2. That contained in President Lincoln's proclamation of December 8, 1863, agreeing to recognize any loyal government set up by one-tenth of the number of voters of 1860, after they had taken a prescribed oath of allegiance, and offering annesty on certain conditions to all but a specified portion of those in rebellion. 3. Sumner's theory that by secession a State renounces its right as a State, that thus slavery (an institution resting merely on State authority) was abolished, and that Congress should take measures to establish this fact, to protect *all* the inhabitants of the State and set up a Republican form of government therein. 4. Thaddeus Stevens' theory that insuperable resistance to the Constitution, suspended its operations and that the national government must decide when it

is to be resumed. 5. The Davis-Wade plan, introduced by Henry Winter Davis and Benjamin F. Wade, from the committee on rebellious States, providing for the appointment of provisional governors, the enrolment of citizens willing to take the oath of allegiance, the adoption and approval of a Constitution, and the admission of the State. 6. The congressional plan, the one actually carried out. The Legislatures reconstructed under the proclamation of December 8, 1863, had adopted measures strongly discriminating against the negroes, and this had consolidated Republican opinion at the North against the President's policy, which feeling was reflected in the Congress that assembled in December, 1865. Lincoln had meanwhile been assassinated and Johnson had succeeded him. It was first enacted that no State should be represented in either House until Congress had declared that State entitled to representation. And here the President and Congress began to diverge. Congress then passed a bill proposing the Fourteenth Amendment and declaring any State ratifying it to be entitled to representation. The Civil Rights Bill and a bill enlarging the power of the freedmen's bureau followed, passed over the President's veto. The first of the Confederate States to be readmitted to representation was Tennessee, on July 24, 1866. According to Congress the rebellious States had, by their secession, suspended their State governments; the Constitution of the United States, however, remaining operative as regards these States which, be it remembered, were not regarded as destroyed, but as capable of restoration to their "former political relations in the Union by consent of the law-making power of the United States." It was about this time that those Republicans in sympathy with the President held the "arm-in-arm" convention, but the bulk of the party considered adherence to Johnson's policy as treason to the party. Moreover the President, on a western trip taken about this time, delivered many indiscreet speeches, and thus widened the gap between himself and Congress. The latter now passed a series of laws, many of them over the Presi-

dent's veto, and all intended to limit his opportunities of opposition to its plans. Among these were the Tenure of Office Act, and acts establishing universal suffrage in the territories, admitting Nebraska as a State and making General Grant irremovable as head of the army. The Fourteenth Amendment had been adopted by but one Southern State, Tennessee, and so Congress was obliged to take further steps looking to reconstruction. For this purpose the South was divided into five military districts; military governors were appointed with power to protect life and property, either by military commissions or by the local courts; these governors were also to supervise the election of delegates to a constitutional convention, to which all but certain disqualified classes were eligible, and for delegates to which only those eligible were allowed to vote. These constitutions were to be ratified by a popular vote and then to be passed on by Congress, after which the new Legislature was to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment, and when that had become part of the Constitution the State's representatives were to be admitted to Congress. This bill was passed over the President's veto March 2, 1867. The military governors were appointed and reconstruction proceeded. The Constitutions thus adopted abolished slavery, repudiated the debts incurred during the civil war, renounced the right of secession and agreed to pass no laws abridging the liberty of any class of citizens. Legislatures and governors were elected under them, and on June 22, 1865, Arkansas was readmitted to the Union; by act of June 25, 1868, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama and Louisiana were added to the list. Virginia, Mississippi and Texas were not readmitted till the acts of January 26, February 23 and March 30, 1870, respectively; Georgia was considered by Congress to have failed in complying with its reconstruction policy, and her readmission was not complete till made so by act of July 15, 1870; as punishment for their delay, these last four States were obliged to ratify the Fifteenth Amendment as a condition precedent to admission. The Fourteenth Amendment had

been declared adopted July 11, 1868. Thus the Union was once more complete. The action of Congress was declared constitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Texas *vs.* White.

Reed, Thomas B., was born in Portland, Maine, October 18, 1839. He is a lawyer and a graduate of Bowdoin College. He has served in both Houses of the Legislature and as the Attorney-General of his State. He has been a member of every Congress since the Forty-fifth. He is the recognized leader of the Republicans in the House of Representatives.

Refunding of United States Debt.—At its highest point (1865) the debt of the United States exceeded $2,800,000.000. This was composed of a great variety of different obligations, some bearing as high as seven and three-tenths per cent. interest. Of this debt, $830,000,000, bearing interest at seven and three-tenths per cent., matured in 1867 and 1868, and about $300,000,000 other debt matured in the same period. To meet this there were issued in 1865 $332,998,950, fifteen years, six per cent. bonds; in 1867 $379,616,050, fifteen years, six per cent. bonds; in 1868 $42,539,350, fifteen years, six per cent. bonds; in 1867 and 1868 $85,150,000 demands, three per cent. certificates. The refunding act of 1870 authorized the issue of not more than $200,000,000, ten years, five per cent. bonds; of not more than $300,000,000, fifteen years, four and a half per cent. bonds; of not more than $1,000,000,000, thirty years, four per cent. bonds. In 1871 this was amended, increasing the amount of five per cent. bonds to $500,000,000, the total issue, however, not to be increased thereby. Under this act there were issued a total of $412,806,450 of five per cent. bonds, and after 1876 $250,000,000 four and a half per cent. bonds. In 1879 a bill was passed authorizing the issue of $10 certificates, bearing four per cent. interest and exchangeable into the four per cent. bonds of the acts of 1870 and 1871. These certificates were issued as a part of the refunding scheme, and were intended to supply a safe means of investment for people of small means, an

object that was defeated by the premium at which the four per cent. bonds were selling, which acted as an inducement to buy up these certificates and to exchange them for the bonds. On December 1, 1891, there were but $88,720,00 outstanding (*see Debt Statement, December 1, 1891, under Debt of United States.*) In 1879 over $741,000,000 four per cent. bonds were issued under the acts of 1870 and 1871. The net result of all these changes was that the national debt, considerably more than one-half of which was in 1865 outstanding at six per cent. and over, was in 1879 costing but four and four and a half per cent. for more than one-half of its then principal. In 1881 over $670,000,000 of the public debt running at five and six per cent. matured. Congress failed to provide the means for meeting it, and there was at the disposal of the Secretary for this purpose only the surplus revenue and somewhat over $100,000,000 of four per cent. bonds under the acts of 1870 and 1871. Under these circumstances the Secretary (Windom), forced to act on his own responsibility, made a general offer to the holders of these bonds to extend the bonds of such as might desire it at three and a half per cent. redeemable at the pleasure of the government. This measure was a complete success, over $460,000,000 bonds being extended at three and a half per cent. The next Congress (in 1882) authorized three per cent. bonds, redeemable at the pleasure of the government, to be issued instead of the bonds extended at three and a half per cent., and more than $300,000,000 were so issued. Meanwhile the reduction of the debt proceeded so rapidly that the last of the three and a half per cents were called for payment November 1, 1883, and the last of the three per cents July 1, 1887, leaving outstanding only the four and a half and four per cent. bonds. The rapid extinction of our national debt, and the equally rapid decline in the interest rates on the same, is unparalleled. For further and more detailed information regarding the debt and its extinction *see Debt of United States and Surplus.*

Registration is a precaution taken in certain States

to prevent frauds at elections. It consists of the preparation of lists of the voters of every precinct, each voter being required to present himself before the day of election to have his name recorded and to answer any questions as to his qualifications. By affording opportunity for scrutiny and comparison of lists much imposition is avoided. Seventeen States have registration laws; eight States require registration in cities or towns containing more than a certain specified population; in one (Georgia) local law exacts it in some counties. In Illinois registration is required, but (except in a few cities) a vote will be granted, even in its absence on the filing of proper affidavits. Rhode Island requires it of all not owning real estate, and Minnesota of all not known to all the election judges. Eight States do not require it; in three of these (Arkansas, Texas and West Virginia) it is constitutionally prohibited.

Remonetization. (*See Coinage.*)

Removal of Government Deposits from the United States Bank.—President Jackson in his message to Congress in 1832 recommended an investigation into the affairs of the Bank of the United States, with a view to determining whether the government deposits could safely be left there. In March, 1833, the House passed a resolution that the deposits could with safety remain in the bank. The President, who was opposed to the bank, resolved, nevertheless, to remove them. The law creating the bank had provided that government funds were to be left in it, unless the Secretary of the Treasury should otherwise direct, in which case the latter was to lay before Congress the reasons for the removal. In January, 1833, William J. Duane was appointed Secretary of the Treasury. He was found opposed to the removal, especially to the removal before the meeting of Congress, and Jackson tried in vain to change his determination. In September Duane asked the President to make a written request for his (Duane's) resignation, which the former did on the 23d. On the same day Roger B. Taney, the Attorney-General, was appointed Secretary of the Treasury. He at once

issued orders directing collectors to deposit funds collected in certain specified State banks, while the funds in the Bank of the United States were withdrawn as needed. There was no actual transfer from the latter to the State banks. The only result of a long debate in Congress was a resolution of censure by the Senate. Taney's nomination was not sent to the Senate until June 23, 1834, and it was rejected by that body.

Removals from Office. (*See Term and Tenure of Office.*)

Repeating is a form of election fraud accomplished by causing the same men to vote at different polls. Men that make a practice of this are called repeaters.

Republican League of the United States is an association of the various Republican clubs of the country. In response to a call issued by the Republican Club of New York, delegates met in that city in December, 1887, and organized with Senator William M. Everts as chairman. James P. Foster, president of the New York Republican Club, was elected president of the League. Its objects are to consolidate the Republican party and to secure united and harmonious action, especially in the campaign of 1888.

Republican Party.—This was the original name of the Democratic party, for an account of which *see Democratic-Republican Party.* It is also the name of the principal opponent of that party from 1854 to the present time. The dissolution of the Whig party in 1852 left a number of factions agreeing in nothing but in their opposition to the Democratic party, and having none of the elements necessary to the formation of a united party. But from these there sprang the most powerful party the Democratic party has yet had to encounter—a consistent advocate of broad construction, and internal improvements, more popular than the Federal party and more homogeneous and courageous than the Whigs. The name was adopted partly because its associations were thought well suited to draw together many of the discordant elements. It was suggested at a meeting of a number of members of Congress, and was

first formally adopted at a Michigan convention in July, 1854. The old Whigs, the Free-Soilers, many Know-Nothings and some few Democrats were the elements that went to make up the party; the Abolitionists were a species of allies. Its success in the States was at first marked, eleven Senators and a plurality of the House belonging to the party. In 1856 a national convention was called and Fremont was nominated. The platform declared against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the extension of slavery, and in favor of the Pacific Railroads, of the admission of Kansas as a free State, and of the improvement of "rivers and harbors of national character." Fremont was defeated by a small majority. Between 1856 and 1860 the party gained largely in compactness, the uncompromising attitude of the slave power uniting Northerners more closely, and drawing away from the party those not in sympathy with it. The platform of 1860 was, with slight exceptions, the same as in 1856, except that a protective tariff was demanded, and that threats of secession were condemned. In the convention but few of the Southern States were represented. Abraham Lincoln was nominated and elected. His election was by the Southern States declared to be sufficient cause for their secession and thus was the country plunged into Civil War. During the war the history of the government is the history of the party. The war policy of the President was supported by the party, as were also the measures intended to cripple slavery. In 1864 Lincoln was re-nominated and re-elected by a large majority. His assassination followed hard upon his inauguration, and the Vice-President, Johnson, became President. Between him and Congress there sprung up, almost at once, a conflict on the subject of the reconstruction of the seceded States, Congress demanding "substantial guarantees" of the preservation of the rights of the negroes as a condition precedent to admission: his impeachment and acquittal followed. The measures of Congress on the subject of reconstruction were approved by the party. That the party was carried somewhat too far on this subject,

was shown by the declaration of the unconstitutionality of parts of the Civil Rights Bill by a Supreme Court, the members of which were appointed by Republican Presidents. In 1868 Grant was nominated and elected. The party placed itself on record as opposed to the intimidation of negro voters by Southern whites, and the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution is due to its efforts, as were also the Thirteenth and Fourteenth. In 1872 Grant was renominated, but a portion of the party, disapproving of its coercive measures toward the South, held a separate convention under the name of Liberal Republican party. Grant was nevertheless elected, but his second term was marred by scandals arising from the corruption of subordinates selected by him. The State elections just previous to 1876 had been unfavorable to the party, and the Democrats, with Tilden as their candidate, waged a vigorous campaign against Hayes, the Republican nominee. The result was long in doubt and was settled only by the Electoral Commission. Hayes was declared elected. During his administration specie payments were resumed. In the convention of 1880 a determined stand was made by Grant's friends to secure his nomination on the ground that having been out of office for one term, his renomination could not be considered as for a "third term:" but although his supporters clung to him throughout, Garfield was nominated and elected. The assassination of Garfield soon after his election brought Vice-President Arthur to the presidency. In 1884 Blaine was chosen to represent the party. He was personally obnoxious to a considerable number of Republicans, thereafter called Mugwumps, and in New York, always a doubtful, and in this case the deciding, State, the defection was sufficient to give the electoral vote of the State to the Democratic candidate, Cleveland, by the small plurality of 1,047, in a total vote of over 1,100,000. Thus, after an uninterrupted sway of twenty-four years the party's candidate for the presidency was defeated. The principles of the party, as stated in the *Party Platforms* of 1884 and 1888 are elsewhere given.

Resignation is the relinquishment of an office or position of honor or trust by a formal act directed to the power that bestowed it, or the legal agent of such power. The office of President or Vice-President can, by law, only be resigned by a written and subscribed instrument lodged in the office of the Secretary of State. The resignation of a Senator or Representative is addressed to the Governor of his State. A Cabinet officer directs his resignation to the President, and it is customary for the members of a Cabinet to hand their resignations to a new President, if these have not already been addressed to the outgoing President to take effect at the expiration of his term. It is not unusual for the President to call for the resignation of one or more of the Cabinet. As to the person succeeding to the office of President or Vice-President when such officer resigns, *see Presidential Succession.* When a Senator resigns the Governor of his State makes a temporary appointment till the next meeting of the Legislature, which elects a successor. In case a Representative resigns, the Governor issues a writ for the election of his successor. The place of a Cabinet officer is supplied by the process of nomination by the President and confirmation by the Senate, the next highest officer in the department performing his duties temporarily. If a Governor resigns, his place is commonly supplied by the Lieutenant-Governor, President of the Senate and Speaker of the House, in the order named. Other State offices are usually filled by temporary appointments made by the Governor till a successor is duly elected as prescribed by law. A vacancy in an appointive office is filled, of course, merely by a new appointment.

Resolutions of '98.—(*See Kentucky Resolutions of* 1798*; Virginia Resolutions of* 1798.)

Resumption of Specie Payments.—(*See Commercial Crises; Resumption Act.*)

Resumption Act.—By this name is known the Act of January 14, 1875, which directed the resumption of specie payments on January 1, 1879. The bill was introduced in the Senate and favorably reported by the chairman of the Finance Committee, Senator Sherman, to

whom subsequently, as Secretary of the Treasury under Hayes, fell the duty of carrying its provisions into effect. (*See Commercial Crises.*)

Retaliation Act.—(*See Fishery Treaties.*)

Retired List.—(*See Army of the United States; Navy of the United States.*)

Returning Boards are certain boards established for the purpose of canvassing the votes given in an election. They were established in some of the reconstructed States at the South, after the Civil War, for the purpose of equalizing any fraud or violence that might be practiced on the negroes at the polls, the first one being established in Arkansas by its Constitution of 1868. Under this Constitution the board had power to correct or to reject any returns, and even to set aside the election and order a new one—in short, judicial powers. The Constitution of 1874 gave to it the power merely to canvass the votes. Florida, South Carolina and Louisiana had returning boards possessing judicial powers. While in the case of State elections the powers given to returning boards would necessarily require the sanction of the State Constitution, the case is different in elections for presidential electors, because the Constitution of the United States prescribes that these shall be appointed in such manner as the Legislature of the State may direct, thus placing the power to regulate this matter entirely into the hands of the Legislature regardless of any provisions of the State Constitution. This subject is of interest chiefly in relation to the presidential election of 1876, in which the result hinged upon the action of those boards. The laws of Florida constituted the Secretary of State, the Attorney-General and the Comptroller, or any two of them with any other member of the State cabinet selected by them, as the returning board. In 1876 the State Circuit Court for Leon County ordered an immediate canvass by the board. From Baker County there were two returns. Disregarding the vote from this county, the popular vote was about a tie. The return from this county giving a Republican majority of 41 votes was thrown

out, as was also the return from Clay County (giving a Democratic majority of 164), and a Democratic Governor and Republican presidential electors were declared elected. On this return, the Governor gave his certificate to the Republican electors, and these met and voted. The Democratic electors had met and voted on a certificate of one member of the board. The court refused to receive the report of the returning board, and on January 1, 1877, a new return was made declaring the Democratic electors and State officers elected. A recanvass by the new State officers, as ordered by the new Legislature, also resulted in favor of the Democratic electors, but the electoral commission accepted the Republican returns as the only one regular in form. The rulings of the courts have since practically deprived the board of its judicial functions. In Louisiana the board consisted of "five persons, to be elected by the Senate from all political parties." In 1876 the Democratic member at once resigned, and his place was not filled. The board decided contests in secret, and refused to allow United States supervisors to be present. About 1,200 ballots, bearing the names of only three Republican electors were counted as cast for all of the eight electors. In all, about 13,000 Democratic and 2,000 Republican votes were rejected. The board declared the election of the Republican presidential electors, of the Republican State ticket, of four Republican and two Democratic Congressmen, and gave the Republicans a majority of two in the State Senate and of twenty-five in the Lower House. Subsequent legislation has deprived the board of its judicial functions. In South Carolina the board consisted of the Secretary of State, the Treasurer, the Comptroller, the Attorney-General and the Adjutant-General. On November 22, 1876, the Supreme Court of the State ordered the board not to exercise judicial functions in counting the votes of the presidential electors. The board, notwithstanding, declared the Republican electors chosen. The members were arrested for contempt, but they were released by the federal Circuit Court on a writ of *habeas corpus*.

The judicial functions of the board have been withdrawn by subsequent legislation. (*See Electoral Commission.*)

Returns, Can't Go Behind the.—This is the popular phrase to express the principle adopted by the electoral commission of not examining into the votes as actually cast, but of taking the result declared by the returning boards through the proper channels.

Revenue of the United States. (*See Expenditures and Receipts of the United States.*)

Rhode Island was one of the original States of the Union. It has two capitals, Providence and Newport. The population in 1880 was 276,531, and in the last census (1890) 345,506. Rhode Island sends two representatives to Congress, and has four electoral votes, which are safely relied on by the Republicans. Its popular name is Little Rhody, or Rhoda. (*See Dorr Rebellion; Governors; Legislatures.*)

Rich Man's Dollar.—The gold dollar is so called by those favoring the compulsory coinage of standard silver dollars. (*See Silver Question.*)

Riders are provisions added to a bill under consideration in a legislative assembly, having no connection whatever with the subject matter of the bill itself. They are usually provisions that would have no chance of passing on their merits and they are merged with important bills by a minority, which makes the passage of the bill as thus amended the condition of its passage in any shape, or else they are thus added for the purpose of dodging the veto of the executive which they know would meet the measure if separately passed, and which they believe will not be exerted upon an otherwise good and important bill. The bills saddled with riders are usually appropriation bills. As their effect is practically to limit the veto power of the executive they are now by law forbidden in many States, and the rules both of the House and Senate in some measure limit their application. In order entirely to prevent this mischief it has been suggested that the Constitution be amended so as to enable the President to veto single items in an appropriation bill.

Right of Search.—The right is undisputed in international law for the war vessel of a belligerent to visit private vessels on the high seas and to examine their papers and cargoes, to determine their destination and character. The right which England claims of searching neutral vessels for subjects and deserters, however, is a different matter, and was one of the chief causes of the War of 1812 (*which see*).

Rights of Neutrals. (*See Neutrality.*)

Ring.—A corrupt arrangement that "encircles enough influential men in the organization of each party to control the action of both party machines; men who in public push to extremes the abstract ideas of their respective parties, while they secretly join their hands in schemes for personal power and profit." This definition is from a pamphlet by Samuel J. Tilden.

River and Harbor Bills.—The first bill for harbor improvements at national expense was passed March 3, 1823. Various such bills were subsequently passed. President Polk, in 1846, and President Pierce, in 1854, defeated bills for that purpose by the exercise of the veto, and thereafter no attempt to pass such measures was made until 1870. Meanwhile most appropriations for necessary work had been made under different heads, such as fortifications. In 1870 $2,000,000 was directly appropriated for the purpose. Between 1870 and 1875 the amounts did not exceed $7,500,000; the appropriations since then are given under *Appropriations.* It has grown to be a practice to pass these bills by log-rolling (*which see*), and the amounts have thus been largely increased. In 1882 the appropriations for this purpose amounted to nearly $19,000,000. The bill was promptly vetoed by President Arthur and just as promptly passed over the veto by Congress.

Rock of Chicamaugua.—A name applied to General George H. Thomas by reason of the firm stand made by him at Chicamaugua during the Civil War, September, 1863. Thomas was born in Virginia in 1816; he died March 28, 1870.

Rogue's Island.—A nickname applied to Rhode

Island when that State stood out and refused to ratify the Constitution.

Roorbach is defined by Webster as follows: "A forgery or fictitious story published for purposes of political intrigue. The word originated in 1844, when such a forgery was published, purporting to be an extract from the 'Travels of Baron Roorbach.'"

Rooster, Democratic. (*See Democratic Rooster.*)

Rotation in Office. (*See Civil Service Reform.*)

Rum, Romanism and Rebellion.—During the presidential campaign of 1884, James G. Blaine, the Republican candidate, received a delegation of ministers favoring his election, at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, in New York City. The spokesman, the Rev. Dr. Burchard, in the course of his address to Blaine, referred to the Democratic party as the party of "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion." This phrase was at once seized upon by the newspapers opposed to Blaine, and telegraphed all over the country; and the fact was dwelt on that the slighting allusion to Catholics had not been rebuked by Blaine. It is impossible to estimate how many Catholic votes were turned from Blaine for that reason; Cleveland's popular majority over Blaine in New York was but 1,047, so that 524 votes lost to Cleveland would have turned the State in Blaine's favor, and with New York he would have gained the presidency. Whether the injudicious utterance above quoted lost the election for Blaine cannot be said.

Sage of Greystone.—A popular name of Samuel J. Tilden. Tilden's residence on the Hudson River was called Greystone.

Sage of Monticello.—A popular name of Thomas Jefferson. On the termination of his second term as President he retired to Monticello, Virginia, where the remainder of his life was passed.

Salary Grab.—On March 3, 1873, in the rush that always attends the closing hours of the national Legislature, the Forty-Second Congress signalized the last day of its existence by passing the act commonly called the "Salary Grab." It passed the House and the

Senate and received President Grant's signature on this same day. It provided for an increase of the President's salary from $25,000 to $50,000 a year, of the salaries of the Vice-President, justices of the Supreme Court, cabinet officers, the Speaker of the House, Senators, Representatives, territorial delegates and various other federal officials. The act was to take effect immediately, except as to members of Congress whose salary was raised from $5,000 to $7,500 a year. As to these it was made retroactive to the beginning of the term of the Forty-Second Congress. It was this provision of the bill which gave it the name of a "grab." Most of those that voted against it and some that voted for it, covered their past increase of salary into the Treasury. It was not a party measure, and one of the first acts of Congress was to repeal the law as to all officials except the President and the justices of the Supreme Court. The repealing act became a law on January 20, 1874.

Salt River, Gone Up.—This phrase is applied to politicians who are forced out of public life, or who retire because of disappointed ambition. It is said that the phrase arose from a small stream of that name in Kentucky, the navigation of which was very difficult, and the unpleasantness of a journey up that stream was thought fairly to represent the feelings of the politicians to whom the phrase was applied.

San Juan Dispute. (*See Northwest Boundary.*)

Santo Domingo, Annexation of.—Santo Domingo is a republic occupying the eastern and larger portion of the island of Hayti. It is also called San Domingo, or the Dominican Republic. In July, 1869, President Grant sent General Babcock to San Domingo to report on the project of annexing it to the United States. In consequence of Babcock's report, a treaty of annexation was made on November 20, 1869, which was approved by popular vote in San Domingo. Its ratification was urged on the Senate to secure the fine harbor of Samaná for a coaling station and commanding rendezvous for our navy, to prevent the acquisition of that bay by any foreign power, to free the slaves there, and by example

and influence the slaves in Cuba and Brazil, and to secure a profitable possession for the United States. But charges were made that private speculators were the promoters of the plan, which was thus discredited. In May, 1870, the treaty was modified to meet some objections, and Grant sent a special message to Congress, on May 31st, urging ratification. The Senate, however, on June 30th refused to ratify the treaty. In January, 1871, Congress, in accordance with the President's message of December 5, 1870, agreed to the appointment of a commission to visit San Domingo and report on the project. B. F. Wade, Andrew D. White and S. G. Howe were appointed, visited San Domingo, and made a favorable report. The project, however, had now become thoroughly unpopular, and Grant in a special message of April 5, 1871, virtually abandoned it. Nothing has since been done to carry out his ideas of annexation. Senator Sumner, of Massachusetts, was a bitter opponent of the whole plan, and chiefly to his efforts was due its defeat.

Scalawag.—A word signifiying a low, worthless fellow. During the reconstruction period following the Civil War, it was at the South applied to Southerners who joined the Republican party and aided them in reconstruction.

Schurz, Carl, was born near Cologne, Germany, March 2, 1829. He left Germany by reason of his connection with the revolutionary disturbances of 1848. He served in the Civil War, attaining the grade of brigadier-general. In politics he was a Republican. He pursued journalism as a profession in St. Louis, Missouri. In 1869 he was chosen United States Senator. He was identified with the Liberal Republican movement in 1872. In 1877 he became Secretary of the Interior under Hayes. In 1884 he was one of the leaders of the revolt against Blaine in the Republican party.

Scott, Dred, Case. (*See Dred Scott Case.*)

Scott Tax Law.—(*See Prohibition.*)

Scratching.—When a citizen votes a ticket contain-

ing the names of some of the candidates of the party with which he is *not* affiliated, he is said to scratch the names of those of his own party that he omits.

Scripomania.—A name applied to the craze for speculation in the stock of the Bank of the United States in 1791; also called Scripophobia.

Scripophobia.—(*See Scripomania.*)

Scrub Race for the Presidency.—The presidential contest of 1824 was so called. The candidates, John Quincy Adams, Andrew Jackson, William H. Crawford and Henry Clay, being all of the same party, the contest was merely a personal one; the truth of the comparison implied in the name, is obvious.

Search, Right of.—(*See Right of Search.*)

Secession.—The claim of the right of a State to secede from the Union is founded on the doctrine of "State sovereignty." But the right of secession or peaceable withdrawal must not be confounded with the right of revolution or violent revolt against unbearable oppression; in the latter case there is no claim of legal right; the appeal is to force and the revolutionists know that failure means the punishment inflicted for treason. This claim has been put forward by nearly every State of the Union in its turn and has on such occasions usually been condemned by the others as treasonable. It was either involved in or explicitly put forward by the "Kentucky Resolutions," the "Hartford Convention," and the "Nullification Ordinance." The discussion preceding the annexation of Texas, led to threats of secession, in the North to follow the annexation, in the South to follow a refusal to annex. It is thus seen that the doctrine had been ventilated North and South, but no real attempt to secede had been made. There had been talk of co-operation among some of the Southern States for the purpose of carrying out a secession programme, (for no State would have attempted it alone), but all this came to naught. Since about 1835, however, slavery and "State sovereignty" had been bound up together and secession was the logical consequence of the latter. The feeling between slave-holding sections and non-slave-

holding sections, between North and South, had become more and more strained, and the election in 1860 of Lincoln, was all that was needed to change the theory into an attempt to secure the reality. South Carolina issued a circular to the other Southern States declaring that she would secede with any other State or alone, if any other would agree to follow. No State was prepared to secede alone, but Florida, Mississippi and Alabama agreed to secede with any other State. South Carolina led the way; a State convention was called and on December 20, 1860, the Act of 1788, ratifying the United States Constitution, was repealed, and it was declared "that the union now subsisting between South Carolina and other States, under the name of the United States of America, is hereby dissolved;" on the 24th a declaration of the causes of secession was adopted and on the same day the Governor proclaimed the secession of the State. Mississippi followed January 9, 1861; Florida, January 10th; Alabama, January 11th; Georgia, January 19th; Louisiana, January 26th; Texas, February 1st, but the proceedings in this later State were very irregular. Virginia did likewise in April, Arkansas and North Carolina in May, and Tennessee, making the eleventh and last seceding State, in June. The Civil War settled the question forever.

Secretary of Legation. (*See Foreign Service.*)

Sectional President.—Lincoln was so called by the Southerners, who held that he represented not the whole people, but only the northern section of the nation.

Sedition Laws. (*See Alien and Sedition Laws.*)

Sedition Poles.—A derisive name for *Liberty Poles.*

Self-Created Societies.—This phrase was used by Washington in a message to Congress on the Whisky Insurrection, to designate those whom he believed to be the instigators of the revolt. It was intended to apply to the Democratic Society.

Selling Out. (*See Trading.*)

Seminole War. (*See Indian Wars.*)

Senate.—This is the name of the smaller of the two branches of the legislative division of the national gov-

ernment. It is also applied to the corresponding divisions of the State governments. When the term is used without qualification, the national Senate is meant. The Senate is composed of two members from every State, chosen by the Legislature. The term is six years. The terms of the Senators are so arranged that one-third of them expire every two years. The Senate is thus a body having continuous existence and organization. Article 1, section 3, of the Constitution treats of the Senate. A person, in order to be a Senator, must be at least thirty years of age. He must have been nine years a citizen, and must, when elected, be an inhabitant of the State he is chosen to represent. The Senate has the power to try all impeachments. It must confirm the appointments made by the President, and must ratify all treaties, for which purpose a two-thirds vote is necessary. When confirming nominations and ratifying treaties (executive business, as it is called) the Senate sits in secret session. All attempts to repeal this rule have failed; they are renewed at almost every session. The Vice-President of the United States presides over the Senate. In the absence of the Vice-President, or when he acts as President, the Senate chooses a President *pro tempore* of the Senate, and it is customary of the Vice-President to retire a few days before adjournment for the session, in order to enable this officer to be chosen, because under a law now superseded this officer was in the line of presidential succession (*which see.*) In case of failure on the part of the electors to choose a Vice-President, the selection devolves on the Senate. "A quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice." (Constitution, Twelfth Amendment.) The standing committees of the Senate are by a rule of that body to be elected by ballot unless otherwise ordered. They are, as a matter of fact, agreed upon in caucus, and the caucus list is voted on as a whole by the Senate. Each House provides rules for its own guidance, and those of the Senate differ in many respects from those of the House,

being in general more lax. There is practically no limit to the length of time which a Senator may consume in debate, and in general the "courtesy of the Senate," as it is called, is relied on as a substitute for stringent rules. The salary of a Senator is $5,000, together with an allowance of $125 per annum for stationery and newspapers, and mileage at the rate of twenty cents a mile for travel to and from Washington for every annual session. Deduction from the salary is made for absence without leave. The United States Statutes provide as follows for the filling of vacancies in the Senate occurring before the meeting of legislatures, and during the session of legislatures: "Whenever on the meeting of the Legislature of any State a vacancy exists in the representation of such State in the Senate, the Legislature shall proceed, on the second Tuesday after meeting and organization, to elect a person to fill such vacancy in the manner prescribed for the election of a Senator for a full term," and "whenever during the session of the Legislature of a State a vacancy occurs in the representation of such State in the Senate, similar proceedings to fill such vacancy shall be had on the second Tuesday after the Legislature has organized, and has notice of such vacancy." The Constitution of the United States adds the subjoined: "If vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive (that is, the Governor) thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies."

Seat of Government.—Previous to the final removal to Washington in 1800 the seats of Government were: Philadelphia, May 10, 1775; Baltimore, December 20, 1776; Philadelphia, March 4, 1777; Lancaster, Pa., September 27, 1777; York, Pa., September 30, 1777; Philadelphia July 2, 1778; Princton, New Jersey, June 30, 1783; Annapolis, Maryland, November 26, 1783; Trenton, New Jersey, November 1, 1784; New York, January 11, 1785, where the Constitutional Government was organized in 1789.

Sergeant-at-Arms.—The sergeant-at-arms of a legislative body is the official that maintains order under the direction of the presiding officer. He serves processes and makes arrests when these are ordered by the House. In both the Senate and the House he is elected.

Seventh of March Speech.—In January, 1850, Henry Clay introduced into Congress the series of resolutions that subsequently led to the Compromise of 1850 (*which see*). During the debate on these resolutions, Daniel Webster delivered an extraordinary speech in which he opposed the views of the abolitionists and of all who in any way desired to restrict slavery. The one great aim of his speech was to smooth over differences between North and South. It has been charged that this speech was a virtual recantation of his political opinions for the purpose of aiding his presidential aspirations. The speech was delivered March 7, 1850.

Seward Whigs. (*See Conscience Whigs.*)

Seward, William H., was born at Florida, New York, May 16, 1801, and died at Auburn, New York, October 10, 1872. He was a graduate of Union College and a lawyer by profession. He served in the State Senate, and was elected Governor in 1838 and 1840 after having been defeated in 1834. In 1849 he became United States Senator. He was in early life an anti-Mason, and joined the Whig party on its organization. He was a member of the anti-slavery faction of that party and its leader in the Senate. He became Secretary of State, under Lincoln, in 1861, and served in that office until 1869.

Seymour, Horatio, was born in Pompey, New York, in 1811. He studied law; served as mayor of Utica and in the Legislature. He was a Democrat, a member of the "hunker," or conservative faction. In 1850 he was nominated for Governor and defeated by about 300 votes out of 430,000 cast. In 1852 he was elected, and in 1854 again defeated by a very small majority. In 1862 he was once more elected Governor. He was the acknowledged leader of his party in New York, and in 1868 he received its presidential nomina-

tion, but he was defeated. He then retired from public life. He died on February 12, 1886.

Sharp-Shins.—A name given to small currency obtained by cutting silver dollars into parts. It was used in the early days of Virginia.

Sherman, John, was born at Lancaster, Ohio, May 10, 1823. He is a lawyer. He was in early life a Whig, but ultimately joined the Republican party, one of whose chiefs he now is. He served in Congress from 1855 to 1861, and in the Senate from 1861 to 1877. He then became Secretary of the Treasury, and under his management the refunding of the debt took place. He then returned to the Senate, in which he is now serving.

Sherman, William Tecumseh, was born at Mansfield, Ohio, February 8, 1820. He was graduated at West Point in 1840. He served in the army until 1853, when he resigned and turned to civil pursuits. On the outbreak of the Civil War he entered the service as a colonel in the regular army. He served with brilliant distinction, rising to the grade of major-general in the regular service. His best known achievements are the capture of Atlanta and his march to the sea. In 1866 he was raised to the rank of lieutenant-general, and in 1869 to that of general. He retired on November 1, 1883. He died February 14, 1891.

Shimonoseki Indemnity.—Shimonoséki is a seaport of Japan whose forts command a strait of the same name. In 1864 these forts were attacked and destroyed by a squadron of war vessels, representing the United States, England, France and Holland, in retaliation for the firing on merchant vessels of those nations by the forts. The Japanese government was compelled to pay damages for the injuries inflicted by the forts, besides an indemnity, amounting together to $3,000,000. Our share in this sum was $785,000. Only a small portion of it was needed for damages inflicted, and the remainder lay in our public treasury for some years. It was not applied to any public use, and finally, after repeated attempts to refund the extortionate excess, it was repaid to Japan in 1884.

Shinplasters.—During the war, small change disappeared from circulation and the people resorted to postage stamps and private notes. The latter, representing ten, twenty-five and fifty cents, issued by retail dealers to facilitate trade, were of little value beyond the particular locality where they were issued, except as plasters for broken shins, and hence were called "shinplasters." The fractional notes printed by the government under the law of 1863 were also called "shinplasters," but merely because their forerunners had borne that name.

Shoe-String District.—The Sixth Congressional District of Mississippi, as laid out in 1874, is so called because it consists of a narrow strip extending along the Mississippi River almost the entire length of the State. (*See Gerrymander.*)

Sic Semper Tyrannis.—This Latin phrase, signifying, "thus always to tyrants," constitutes the motto of the State of Virginia. They were the words which John Wilkes Booth shouted out when he jumped on the stage of Ford's Theater after assassinating Lincoln.

Signal Service Bureau.—The signal service was first organized for military purposes. In war it is very necessary that different parts of an army should be able to communicate readily and quickly with each other, and therefore a special service was organized, equipped with flags, torches, heliostats, telegraph and telephone lines, and other instruments of communication, and instructed in a code of signals which, while intelligent to themselves, were meant to be a complete mystery to all others. Such a service has been attached to the United States army for many years, but the meteorological division of this service is of recent creation. Feb. 9, 1870, a joint resolution of Congress first imposed upon the Signal Service Bureau the duty of "giving notice by telegraph and signal of the approach and force of storms." The duty was cheerfully accepted, and under the chief signal officer, Gen. Albert J. Myer, was admirably performed. So quickly and well were its meteorological observations made that the new bureau won the confidence of scientific men immediately, and

in 1874 the Smithsonian Institution turned over its entire body of volunteer civilian weather observers to the direction of the signal service. The telegraphic facilities of the service soon led to a new system, that of simultaneous weather observation and instantaneous reports. This gave the central office valuable data on which to base a scientific study of the weather, and largely increased general confidence in its predictions. The network of signal lines now extends over the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the Gulf of Mexico, including the West Indies, to the Canadian frontier, and daily reports are also received from the Canadian Dominion and its outlying posts. Perhaps the most important work of the bureau is that on the Western frontier. Tridaily observations are taken at all the stations east and west at 7 a.m., 3 p.m. and 11 p.m., Washington time, and immediately put upon the wires. So nearly are these observations simultaneous, and so carefully are the differences of time calculated, that they are usually all concentrated at the central office within about forty-five minutes. They include readings of the barometer and of exposed and wet-bulb thermometers; the direction and velocity of the wind; the amount of rain or snow fallen since last reports; the kind, amount, and direction of movement of clouds, auroras, haze, fog, smokiness, frost, etc., to which river stations add readings of the river gauge, and the seacoast stations the direction and character of the ocean swell. These data, received at the central office, are made the basis of draughting seven graphic charts, the first showing the barometric pressures, temperatures, winds and states of weather throughout the country; the second showing the dew points at all stations; and the third the cloud conditions visible from the different reporting stations. The fourth and sixth charts show the normal barometric pressures and temperatures, and existing variations therefrom in the same general mode; and the fifth and seventh show the deviations or departures from the normal condition in these particulars, for the previous

twenty-four hours. Armed with all this charted material, and taught by long experience how to reckon the probable course of storms, the signal officer proceeds to calculate the probabilities of the weather at the different points on his chart for the next twenty-four or forty-eight hours. These probabilities or "weather bulletins" are immediately sent by telegraph to all the stations, and made public through the daily press. Special "farmers' bulletins" are also printed and sent to small towns and villages along most of the railroads radiating from the chief cities of the Union, to be posted in some public place. If storms are to be expected, the display of a cautionary signal is ordered at each station of the bureau. The general soundness of the plan upon which the Weather Bureau works is shown by the fact that, taking into account the entire twenty-one years of its existance, the percentage of verifications of its predictions has been over 85 per cent. In 1891 the signal service was transferred from the War Department to the Department of Agriculture.

Silk Stockings is a term of reproach applied by professional politicians to the better circumstanced classes when these latter attempt to play a part in politics. Kid-glove politics (*which see*) is a similar expression.

Sink or Swim, Live or Die, Survive or Perish, I Give My Hand and My Heart to This Vote.—August 2, 1826, Daniel Webster delivered a eulogy on John Adams and Thomas Jefferson in Faneuil Hall, Boston. They had both died on July 4, 1826. In the eulogy, Webster puts into Adams' mouth the speech that he supposed him to have made in Congress, in 1776, before voting for the Declaration of Independence. The proceedings of the Congress were secret; the journal of its proceedings did not contain the debates; it is only known that Adams made a remarkable speech on that occasion. No record of it was preserved, and the one that Webster imagines him to have made is entirely the work of Webster. The speech contained the above sentence, and concluded as follows: "It is my living

sentiment, and by the blessing of God it shall be my dying sentiment—independence now, and independence forever." On the day of Adams' death the noise of cannon attracted his attention. He asked the meaning, and was told that it was Independence Day. He replied, "Independence forever."

Silver Bill, The, was a bill passed by Congress, vetoed by President Hayes, and passed over his veto February 28, 1878. It made the standard silver dollar, the coinage of which had been suspended by the Act of 1873, a legal tender in any amounts, and directed its continued coinage at a minimum rate of $2,000,000, and a maximum rate of $4,000,000 per month.

Silver Grays. (*See Conscience Whigs.*)

Silver Question.—Previous to the Act of 1834, the ratio of gold to silver at the mints of the United States had been one of the former to fifteen of the latter. The ratio in the principal European countries, notably France, was one to fifteen and one-half. Under these circumstances one part of gold might be exchanged in Europe for fifteen and one-half parts of silver, of which one-half of one part might be retained, and on sending the other fifteen parts to the United States one part of gold would be received therefor, the return of which to France would leave its owner richer by one-half of one part of silver. This was done, and gold flowed out of this country. As a remedy the ratio was changed, by the Acts of 1834 and 1837, to one to 15.98. This remedy was too drastic. Gold ceased to leave the country—in fact, returned to it, but silver flowed out rapidly, because now the exchange of silver for gold in France, and the reëxchange of gold for silver here, produced a profit. For the purpose of keeping in the country sufficient small coin for the needs of business, the Act of 1853 reduced the weight of fractional silver coins. By the Act of 1873 the coinage of silver dollars was stopped. The Act of 1878 revived the coinage of the 412½-grain silver dollar, and required the purchase of at least $2,000,000, and not more than $4,000,000, worth of silver bullion per month and its coinage into

these dollars. Free coinage of silver was not established. By free coinage is meant the coinage into money of bullion for any one presenting the same for that purpose. There is in this country at present free coinage of gold. No country has at this time free coinage of both metals, for fear that fluctuations in the market price of silver might cause sudden and violent exports of the metal that happened for the time being to be more valuable, compared with its fellow in the markets of other countries, than by the standard of the country's mint. A double standard of gold and silver is possible only by the joint action of all the principal nations in establishing the same fixed ratio. The fall in the price of silver during recent years has rendered the gold value of the standard silver dollar considerably less than its face value (about seventy-five cents). Were the bullion value of these dollars equal to their face value, no harm could flow from their continued coinage, for whether for export or other use they would everywhere be received. The danger lies in the possibility that the continued compulsory coinage of these dollars may lead to the issue of more than the business of the country requires. As the Secretary of the Treasury (in his report of December 5, 1887) pointed out, this would lead either to their export or to their depreciation at home. The former is impossible on account of the reduced bullion value of the coin; the latter is the result to be feared. The Treasury holds a trust fund of $100,000,000 for the redemption of legal tender notes, and the further sum of more than $100,000,000 in trust for the redemption of national bank notes. When the receipt by the government of one form of money exceeds the demand of the people for that same form (for the government's creditors have their choice of the different forms of money in receiving payment), the result is the accumulation in the Treasury of the form of money not desired by the people. The bulk of the money held by the Treasury belongs to the above-mentioned trust funds. To them is thus apportioned the money not desired by the people. Had it not been for these funds, the govern-

ment would have been obliged, in 1884, 1885 and 1886, to make payments in the coin received by it, namely silver, in spite of the fact that the people did not desire it, as is shown by its accumulation in the Treasury during those years; one result of which would have been, and will be whenever an aggravated case of the kind again happens, the forcing into circulation of a kind of money not desired, and its consequent depreciation. From this would flow all the financial and commercial hardships incident to a depreciated currency. In the report (above referred to) of the Secretary, he recommends that above the amount of silver held to redeem silver certificates, there should be kept on hand some fixed reserve in silver to meet the possible demand for silver on the part of United States creditors; the amount of this reserve to be fixed by Congress, and provision to be made for the temporary cessation of silver coinage whenever the reserve exceeds the specified limit by $5,000,000, to be resumed when the reserve is again reduced to its legal limit. The South and the West clamor for the continuation of the coinage of the silver dollar. They call it "the poor man's dollar," and the gold dollar "the rich man's dollar." They assert that the silver dollar is the only kind of money that can be rendered sufficiently abundant for the needs of their sections. Those that assert the impossibility of this country maintaining a double standard without the coöperation of other countries, and those that assert the absolute impossibility of maintaining a double standard—the monometallists—are dubbed "gold bugs" by them. These sections refuse to see a distinction between absolute cessation of the coinage of the silver dollar and coinage limited and proportioned to the wants of the country as suggested by the Secretary. Congress has taken no action on this question, and the silence thereon of many public men is asserted to be an unwillingness to antagonize any portion of the community that can aid the political aspirations of an ambitious man. (*See Coinage.*)

Single Standard.—This phrase is used in discussion

on bi-metallism, to indicate a single standard of value; that is, gold alone or silver alone. Double standard means the concurrent use of both metals as standards. (*See Bi-Metallism.*)

Sinking Fund is a fund provided for the payment of a debt or obligation, and is formed by successively setting apart smaller amounts for this purpose. Even under the confederation an attempt was made by Alexander Hamilton to establish a sinking fund for the national debt; it was unsuccessful. The first sinking fund under the government of the United States was created by Act of August 2, 1790. The present sinking fund to retire the national debt was established by Act of February 25, 1862: as subsequently modified it sets apart all duties on imported goods as a special fund, first, for the payment of interest on the public debt, and second, for the purchase every year of one per cent. of the national debt; bonds so redeemed are to be cancelled and deducted from the outstanding indebtedness of the government; but in addition to the one per cent. thus redeemed there is to be purchased annually an amount of government bonds equal to the annual interest on bonds previously bought for the sinking fund. The sinking fund is thus, as far as interest is concerned, in the position of any other holder of the government's obligations, receiving interest on all the bonds that have been purchased for its account, only the bonds belonging to it have been cancelled and the debt is considered reduced by that amount. The Act of April 17, 1876, provides that fractional currency redeemed by the Treasury shall constitute a part of the sinking fund. The estimated sinking fund requirement for the year ending July 1, 1892, is $44,006,111. The operations of this fund will provide for the payment of the entire national debt by the date of maturity of the government bonds having longest still to run, viz.: the four per cent. bonds due in 1907.

Sinophobist, meaning literally, a hater of the Chinese, is a term sometimes applied to those who have clamored for a restriction of Chinese immigration to this country.

Sioux War. (*See Indian Wars.*)

Six Companies. (*See Chinese Question.*)

Slavery.—In 1620 the first cargo of negro slaves was landed in Virginia. Thereafter slavery was an institution in that colony, as it was, indeed, in all of the thirteen colonies, except Georgia. Georgia was formed by Oglethorpe in 1732, and as long as he was in control, until 1752 (when its charter was surrendered to the crown), slavery was prohibited. The physical character of the Northern colonies, requiring as it does, the application to the soil of intellect as well as of labor, in order to render it productive, was not calculated to make slave labor profitable, but none of the colonies had at first any objections to slavery on moral grounds. After the Revolution statesmen, both North and South, deplored its introduction by their forefathers and regarded it as a necessary evil. The provisions in the Constitution, leaving the slave-trade unhampered for twenty years, and requiring the return of fugitive slaves, were won from the convention only by the importunity of South Carolina and Georgia. The invention of the cotton-gin rendered the labor of slaves vastly more profitable. This is seen when we state that the exports of cotton in 1792 were 138,328 pounds, and in 1795, 6,276,300 pounds, the cotton-gin having been invented in 1793. This event, opening prospects of unlimited profit by the employment of slaves, increased the Southern sentiment in favor of slavery. In the North it was dying a natural death. Yet, as late as 1826, John Randolph, of Virginia, said in the House: "I envy neither the head nor the heart of that man, ... who rises here to defend slavery upon principle." And the Missouri Compromise distinctly recognized the power of Congress to exclude slavery from Territories. In the House the anti-slave power was in control, but the Senate, containing two Senators from every State, regardless of population, was always in a position to defeat restrictive measures. The South, perceiving this advantage, steadily refused admission to free States, without the admission at the same time of a corresponding number

of slave States. The slave power, thus forced to an extension of slave territory, began to assert the "essential righteousness" of slavery, and then to deny the power of Congress to restrict it in the Territories. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill accomplished this latter purpose, thus annulling the Missouri Compromise. As soon as it became evident that Kansas would become a free State, the doctrine was further elaborated, and it was asserted to be the duty of Congress to protect slavery. The election of a Republican President in 1860 gave occasion for the one remaining step, secession. Thus was the Civil War begun, and in that struggle slavery perished.

Smelling Committee—This vigorous phrase is used by the machine politicians to denote a legislative commitee of inquiry, whose investigation it is feared will result in personal damage to them.

Snuff Takers. (*See Conscience Whigs.*)

Soap.—A political slang term for money; usually applied to money corruptly used.

Social Bands.—A name applied to societies organized in Missouri, after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, for the purpose of taking "possession of Kansas on behalf of slavery."

Softs, or Soft-shells. (*See Barnburners.*)

Soldiers' Home.—This home is intended for aged or disabled soldiers of the regular army of the United States. It is situated at Washington, D. C., occupying a beautiful site outside the city limits, was established in 1851 with the money raised by a levy on the City of Mexico during the Mexican War, and is supported by a regular tax on each soldier of the army. A home for volunteer soldiers of the Civil War is situated at Dayton, Ohio, with branches at Augusta, Maine, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and Hampton, Virginia.

Solid South.—Since the Civil War the sympathy of Southern whites has, until now, uniformly been with the Democratic party, and since the withdrawal of Union troops at the South, during Hayes' administration, the Southern States have all voted Democratic, or in the

current phrase, have gone solidly Democratic. Hence the term Solid South; that is, the South solidly Democratic. There are signs that the supremacy of the solid South will soon be broken. That event, when it occurs, will be the final step in the series of reconciliations between North and South.

Sons of '76. (*See American Party.*)

Sons of Liberty. (*See American Knights.*)

Sons of the South.—A name applied to societies organized in Missouri after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, for the purpose of taking "possession of Kansas on behalf of slavery."

Sore-head is a person whose ambition is disappointed, not by defeat suffered at the hands of antagonists, but by failure of his party to honor him, and who does not accept the result with good grace. A sore-head may go to the extent of bolting his party's convention (*see Bolters*), or he may simply sulk for a time and finally recover his good humor. A kicker (*which see*) is a general term for a dissatisfied adherent. A sore-head is a kicker with a personal grievance.

South Americans.—This term was used before the Civil War to designate the Southern members of the American or Know-Nothing party. Their only desire was to prevent all agitation on the subject of slavery whether for or against the institution.

South Carolina was one of the original States of the Union. On December 20, 1860, a State convention passed an ordinance of secession and led all the Southern States into the Confederacy. By Act of June 25, 1868, South Carolina was re-admitted to the Union. The capital is Columbia. The population in 1880 was 995,577, and in the last census (1890) 1,151,149. South Carolina has seven seats in the House of Representatives and nine electoral votes. It is a reliably Democratic State at present in national elections. The two Carolinas were named after Charles I., of England (in Latin *Carolus*). Popularly it is called the Palmetto State. (*See Electoral Commission; Governors; Legislatures.*)

Southern Confederacy. (*See Confederate States.*)

Southwest Territory. (*See Territories.*)

Speaker of the House of Representatives.—The title of the presiding officer of the House of Representatives (*which see*). He is elected by the members of that body. Below is given a list of the Speakers of the House of Representatives:

CONGRESS.	YEARS.	NAME.	STATE.
1	1789—1791	F. A. Muhlenburg	Pennsylvania.
2	1791—1793	Jonathan Trumbull	Connecticut.
3	1793—1795	F. A. Muhlenburg	Pennsylvania.
4—5	1795—1799	Jonathan Dayton	New Jersey.
6	1799—1801	Theodore Sedgwick	Massachusetts
7—9	1801—1807	Nathaniel Macon	North Carolina.
10—11	1807—1811	Joseph B. Varnum	Massachusetts.
12—13	1811—1814	Henry Clay	Kentucky.
13	1814—1815	Langdon Cheves	South Carolina.
14—16	1815—1820	Henry Clay	Kentucky.
16	1820—1821	John W. Taylor	New York.
17	1821—1823	Philip P. Barbour	Virginia.
18	1823—1825	Henry Clay	Kentucky.
19	1825—1827	John W. Taylor	New York.
20—23	1827—1834	Andrew Stevenson	Virginia.
23	1834—1835	John Bell	Tennessee.
24—25	1835—1839	James K. Polk	Tennessee.
26	1839—1841	R. M. T. Hunter	Virginia.
27	1841—1843	John White	Kentucky.
28	1843—1845	John W. Jones	Virginia.
29	1845—1847	John W. Davis	Indiana.
30	1847—1849	Robert C. Winthrop	Massachusetts.
31	1849—1851	Howell Cobb	Georgia.
32—33	1851—1855	Linn Boyd	Kentucky.
34	1855—1857	Nathaniel P. Banks.	Massachusetts.
35	1857—1859	James L. Orr	South Carolina.
36	1860—1861	William Pennington	New Jersey.
37	1861—1863	Galusha A. Grow	Pennsylvania.
38—40	1863—1869	Schuyler Colfax	Indiana.
41—43	1869—1875	James G. Blaine	Maine.
44	1875—1876	Michael C. Kerr	Indiana.
44—46	1876—1881	Samuel J. Randall	Pennsylvania.
47	1881—1883	John W. Keifer	Ohio.
48—50	1883—1889	John G. Carlisle	Kentucky.
51-	1889—1891	Thomas B. Reed	Maine.
52	1891—	George F. Crisp	Georgia.

Specie Circular.—Between 1830 and 1836 prosperity largely increased in the United States. Considerable artificial stimulus was afforded by the deposit of government funds in the State banks. The sales of government lands in 1830 yielded $2,329,356.14; in 1836, $24,877,179.86. New banks, with but little capital, sprung up everywhere and their circulating notes were rapidly

absorbed. On July 11, 1836, the Secretary of the Treasury, under Jackson, issued a circular ordering government agents to receive only gold or silver in payment of land sales. This is known as the "Specie Circular." As a result the use of bank notes diminished. The issues were presented for payment with the result of a general suspension of specie payments in May, 1837.

Specie Payments. (*See Commercial Crisis; Resumption Act.*)

Specific Duties. (*See Customs Duties.*)

Spoils System. (*See Civil Service Reform.*)

Squatter Sovereignty. (*See Popular Sovereignty.*)

Stalwarts.—This is a name by which a faction of the Republican party is known. The name arose about the time of the national convention of 1880, and was applied to the wing of the party that supported the claims of General Grant to a nomination for a third term; the name was due to the tenacity with which these supporters clung to him. They were led by Senator Roscoe Conkling, of New York. Opposed to them were the Half-breeds, as they were called, under the leadership of James G. Blaine. The contest between these factions was very warm during Garfield's short administration, the quarrel being on the division of the offices. Blaine was Secretary of State, and the administration was regarded as identified with the Half-breeds. The outcome of the quarrel was the resignation of Senator Conkling and his colleague, in the expectation of an immediate reëlection, which would have served as a rebuke to the President. In this Conkling was disappointed. He failed of reëlection. Meanwhile Garfield's death and the accession of Arthur, a Stalwart, together with the latter's judicious conduct, healed the party split, at least on the surface. Nevertheless, the enormous Democratic majority in the New York State election for Governor in 1882, caused as it was by the abstention of Republican voters, showed that the gulf had not yet been bridged. The withdrawal of Conkling from political life, however, aided in uniting the party, and these lines of division have practically disappeared.

Standard Silver Dollar. (*See Coinage.*)

Stanton, Edwin M., was born in Steubenville, Ohio, December 19, 1814, and died at Washington, December 24, 1869. He was graduated at Kenyon College, and became a lawyer. He was Attorney-General under Buchanan, and had, up to the Civil War, been a Democrat. In 1862 he became Secretary of War under Lincoln, retaining the post in Johnson's Cabinet until his removal. The impeachment of Johnson was in consequence of alleged illegal acts in connection with this removal. In 1869 Stanton was nominated and confirmed as Justice of the Supreme Court, but died before he could assume the duties.

Star Chamber Sessions.—The Star Chamber was an English Court, abolished in the last year of the reign of Charles I. The court was composed of high officers of the realm; it sat in secret; its power which was very great was used to extort money by means of fines, and for the overthrow of powerful enemies of the Crown not otherwise to be reached. The name is said to have arisen from the fact that the roof of the room in which the court met was decorated with stars. In American politics the term star chamber sessions is sometimes used to characterize secret sessions of any kind, and is more particularly applied to the executive sessions of the Senate. (*See Executive Sessions.*)

Star Organization. (*See American Knights.*)

Star Route Trials.—Star Routes are those mail routes of the United States government on which, owing to lack of railroad or steamboat facilities, the mail is carried on horseback or wagons. They are called star routes because in the route books of the Post-office Department they are marked with a star (*). Early in 1881 vague rumors were in circulation of extensive fraud in this service. It was said that there was a "ring" to defraud the government. Included in it were some of the large contractors, the Second Assistant Postmaster-General, Thomas J. Brady, some subordinates in the department, Senator Stephen W. Dorsey, of Arkansas, and others. Brady resigned April 20,

1881. Proceedings in one of the principal cases were begun against the conspirators, but they were dismissed on account of irregularity in the form of the action. Early in 1882 several persons were arrested for furnishing fraudulent bonds on the bids for service, and indictments were found against Brady, Stephen W. Dorsey, John W. Dorsey, John M. Peck and John R. Miner, who had made the bids; H. M. Vaile, a sub-contractor; M. C. Rerdell, S. W. Dorsey's secretary; Turner, a clerk in Brady's office; and against one of the principal contractors. The method by which, as charged, the government was defrauded consisted in first obtaining the contracts for the routes, and in subsequently having the payments vastly increased, in compensation for additional mail trips per week, and faster time on each trip. This latter was called "expediting" the route. The Dorsey combination, as the conspirators were popularly called, controlled one hundred and thirty-four Star Routes, on which the original compensation was $143,169. By increasing the number of trips beyond what the locality required, and by "expediting" them, this amount had been increased to $622,808. On one route the compensation had been increased from $398 to $6,133.50; the revenue derived therefrom by the government was $240. The cases came up for trial in the District of Columbia, June 1, 1882. The government employed special counsel to aid the District Attorney, and the defendants, too, were represented by eminent lawyers. After a protracted trial, the case was submitted to the jury on September 8th; as they were not able to agree as to all of the defendants, they were kept out until September 11th, on which day, the presiding judge, Wylie, deeming an agreement on all the defendants unlikely, accepted the verdict. Peck and Turner were found not guilty; Miner and Rerdell, guilty; as to the Dorseys, Vaile and Brady there was a disagreement. Preparations were at once made for a new trial in the cases in which there had been a disagreement and the motions of the counsel of Miner and Rerdell for a new trial were granted. The

second trial began in December, 1882. Rerdell, on this trial, pleaded guilty and turned States' evidence. On June 12, 1883, the case was given to the jury, and on the 14th, a verdict of not guilty was rendered. In April, 1883, W. P. Kellogg, ex-Senator from Louisiana, and Brady were indicted for receiving money for services in relation to a Star Route contract. The cases never resulted in a conviction. At the conclusion of the first of these trials charges of attempted bribery of the jury both on behalf of the government and of the defense, were made. The foreman of the first jury, Dickson, and another juror, claimed to have been approached on behalf of the government, and still another juror on behalf of the defense. Before the first trial had ended Dickson had made a sworn statement of the facts in his case, and it was charged that he had used it in the jury-room for the purpose of influencing the verdict. The Department of Justice investigated the cases, and declared its belief that no government officials were involved; it implied that all the attempts had been for the purposes of the defense. Dickson was subsequently indicted for attempting corruptly to influence the jury.

Stars and Bars.—A popular name for the flag of the Confederacy, which consisted of a blue union with white stars, one for every State of the Confederacy, and a field of three bars, the center bar of white, the other two of red. There were also battle-flags of different designs.

State Rights. (*See State Sovereignty.*)

States, Admission of, to the Union. (*See Admission of States to the Union.*)

State, Secretary of. (*See State, Department of.*)

State, Department of.—This is the oldest of the executive departments of the government, having been established by the Act of July 27, 1789. The Secretary of State (whose salary is $8,000) is at its head. He is appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, and is a member of the President's Cabinet. He is the medium of communication between the United States and any of the States or any foreign country. He has charge of the great seal of the United States, which he affixes to all public documents requiring it, he also coun-

tersigns them. His department has charge of all ambassadors and consuls; in its custody are all the engrossed copies of the laws of the United States and all treaties. The principal subordinates are as follows:

	SALARY.
Assistant Secretary	$4,500
Second Assistant Secretary	3,500
Third Assistant Secretary	3,500
Chief Clerk	2,750

The following are the Secretaries of State from the beginning of the government:

NAME.	STATE.	TERM.
Thomas Jefferson	Virginia	1789—1794
Edmund Randolph	Virginia	1794—1795
Timothy Pickering	Massachusetts	1795—1800
John Marshall	Virginia	1800—1801
James Madison	Virginia	1801—1809
Robert Smith	Maryland	1809—1811
James Monroe	Virginia	1811—1817
John Quincy Adams	Massachusetts	1817—1825
Henry Clay	Kentucky	1825—1829
Martin Van Buren	New York	1829—1831
Edward Livingston	Louisiana	1831—1833
Louis McLaine	Delaware	1833—1834
John Forsyth	Georgia	1834—1841
Daniel Webster	Massachusetts	1841—1843
Hugh S. Legare	South Carolina	1843—1843
Abel P. Upshur	Virginia	1843—1844
John C. Calhoun	South Carolina	1844—1845
James Buchanan	Pennsylvania	1845—1849
John M. Clayton	Delaware	1849—1850
Daniel Webster	Massachusetts	1850—1852
Edward Everett	Massachusetts	1852—1853
William L. Marcy	New York	1853—1857
Lewis Cass	Michigan	1857—1860
Jeremiah S. Black	Pennsylvania	1860—1861
William H. Seward	New York	1861—1869
E. B. Washburne	Illinois	1869—1869
Hamilton Fish	New York	1869—1877
William M. Evarts	New York	1877—1881
James G. Blaine	Maine	1881—1881
Frederick T. Frelinghuysen	New Jersey	1881—1885
Thomas F. Bayard	Delaware	1885—1889
James G. Blaine	Maine	1889—....

Star Spangled Banner.—This national song was written during the bombardment of Fort McHenry, near

Baltimore, by the British during the War of 1812. Francis Scott Key, a lawyer, of Frederick, Maryland, had gone on board the British flag-ship to solicit the release of a friend who had been carried on board a prisoner. The British, as they were on the point of attacking Fort McHenry, detained Key, and he as well as his friend and another American were transferred to another vessel lying near. There they watched the fight and here during the bombardment did Key write the song.

States, Familiar Names of.—Alabama——. Arkansas—Bear State. California—Golden State. Colorado—Centennial State. Connecticut—Nutmeg State, Wooden Nutmeg State, Free Stone State, Land of Steady Habits. Delaware—Diamond State, Blue Hen State. Florida—Peninsula State. Georgia—Empire State of the South. Illinois—Prairie State, Sucker State. Indiana—Hoosier State. Iowa—Hawkeye State. Kansas—Garden State, Garden of the West. Kentucky—Corn Cracker State. Louisiana—Creole State, Pelican State. Maine—Pine Tree State, Lumber State. Maryland——. Massachusetts—Old Colony, Bay State, Old Bay State. Michigan—Wolverine State, Lake State. Minnesota—Gopher State. Mississippi—Bayou State. Missouri—Pennsylvania of the West. Nebraska——. Nevada—Sage Hen State. New Hampshire—Granite State. New Jersey——. New York—Empire State, Excelsior State. North Carolina—Tar State, Turpentine State, Old North State. Ohio—Buckeye State. Oregon——. Pennsylvania—Keystone State. Rhode Island—Little Rhody or Rhoda. South Carolina—Palmetto State. Tennessee—Big Bend State. Texas—Lone Star State. Vermont—Green Mountain State. Virginia—Old Dominion, Mother of Presidents, Mother of States. West Virginia—Pan Handle State. Wisconsin—Badger State.

State Sovereignty.—Nullification is the setting aside and ignoring of a national law by a State. Strictly speaking, "State Sovereignty" is the doctrine that the States, at the formation of the Union, delegated a portion of their sovereignty to the national government,

reserving the right to revoke the agency and to resume the exercise of all the elements of sovereignty at any time by seceding. "State rights" is the doctrine that every State is sovereign within the limits of its own sphere of action, made so by the declared will of the nation as expressed in the Constitution; and that the will of the nation, appropriately manifested, as provided in the Constitution, may change that sphere. In the Constitution, the rights of the national government are distinctly stated; the rights of the State are limited only by the expressly declared national right. Previous to the Civil War the term "State rights" was used to designate the idea of "State sovereignty," and misuse has raised a prejudice in many minds even against the legitimate theory of "State rights" brought forward since that event. The arguments against "State sovereignty" may be summarized as follows: The colonies did not fight each for its own independence, but each for the independence of all, as is shown by their joint action throughout, in military as well as civil matters. The sovereignty acquired in that struggle was never individually exercised, but all remained under the national sovereignty raised by the common fight for liberty. All the elements and insignia of sovereignty were vested in the national government, as the power to declare war and peace and to coin money, and moreover the power to amend the Constitution, except in a very few particulars, was given to three-fourths of the States, and on the theory of State sovereignty this would imply the self-contradictory condition of a sovereign State voluntarily exposing itself to changes in its government without its consent to the change. It may be maintained that secession would afford the needed relief; but if this had been the intention, the consent of all the States to an amendment would have been required, since it must be presumed that the union was intended to endure. The doctrine of "State sovereignty" was put forward at various times. (*See Hartford Convention; Nullification.*) Soon after the nullification troubles it became the ally of slavery, and the result of the Civil War put it to rest

forever. State sovereignty and secession finally disposed of, the theory of States rights as above outlined could be developed. The danger of extreme particularism had been avoided; extreme centralization during the exercise of war powers by the President and Congress was inevitable. The Supreme Court holds the balance, and its adjudication has, since the war, laid down the relations of the States and the national government as above.

Step-Father of His Country.—A nickname applied to Washington by venomous opponents during his presidency.

Stephens, Alexander H., was born in Wilkes (now Taliaferro) County, Georgia, February 11, 1812, and died at Atlanta, Georgia, March 4, 1883. He was a lawyer and a graduate of the University of Georgia. He served in the State Legislature and in Congress (from 1843 to 1859) as a Whig. When that party ceased to exist he became a Democrat, but opposed secession; when his State had actually seceded he joined it, however. He became Vice-President of the Confederacy. In 1877 he again went to Congress, leaving the House to become Governor of his State in 1882.

Stevens, Thaddeus, was born at Peacham, Vermont, April 4, 1792, and died at Washington, August 11, 1868. He was graduated at Dartmouth, and then practiced law in Pennsylvania. He served in the State Legislature, and was sent to Congress in 1849, where he served until 1853, and again from 1859 to 1868. He was originally a Whig, subsequently joining the Republicans. After the war he took a prominent part in *Reconstruction.* (*See that title and Broad Seal War.*)

Still Hunt.—When a politician quietly works to secure support for himself without openly avowing his candidacy he is said to be engaged in a Still Hunt.

Straw Bail.—Bail is security given for the appearance of an offender when called for trial. This is usually in the form of a bond by a real-estate owner, the bond to be forfeited on the non-appearance of the accused. When bail bonds are given by men who pretend to possess the necessary qualifications while in reality they do not, the bail is called Straw Bail.

Strict Construction. (*See Construction of the Constitution.*)

Strikers.—In politics this term is applied to men that seek corruptly to influence legislation. (*See Lobby.*) Whether the striker has any real power to do this or not is immaterial; what is important to him is, that those desiring legislation influenced may think so, and intrust to him money intended for that purpose. The term is also applied to legislators that introduce or support bills obnoxious to particular interests (usually to some corporation), for the purpose of being bought off by the interests thus threatened. This is a species of political blackmail.

Strong Government Whigs were the members of that faction of the American Whigs that favored the establishment of a strong central government. Opposed to them were the *Particularists.*

Stuffing The Ballot-Box. (*See Ballot-Box Stuffing.*)

Stump.—In the early days of this country political orators traveled from town to town, usually addressing crowds in the open air from the most convenient place, frequently the stump of a tree. From this arose the practice of calling a political harangue a stump-speech; the derivation of "stumping the State" and "stump-speakers" is obvious.

Submission Men.—Those that opposed the War of 1812, and desired peace at any price, were called "submission men."

Subsidies, are direct pecuniary encouragement given by the government to private enterprises, especially for purposes of transportation. Our protective system of import duties is in the nature of an indirect bounty or subsidy to domestic manufacturers. (*See Protection; Tariff Laws of the United States.*) Railroads and steamship companies have usually been the recipients of direct aid from the government, but subsidies to railroads have generally taken the forms of land grants. For grants to railroads *see Land Grants; Pacific Railroads.* No grants have been made for the last fifteen years.

The reasons urged in support of these subsidies were that railroads were thus established much sooner than they otherwise could have been, and the country was developed, while the government lost nothing because the lands it retained were greatly enhanced in value. There is no doubt that much of our national development is due to our extensive railroads, and that this has been greatly encouraged by national aid; but, on the other hand, the dangers of railroad speculation followed, and the government interests were not sufficiently protected. In 1845, subsidies to steamship lines, in the form of payments for carrying the mails, were commenced, and a line was established from New York to Bremen, and subsequently to Havre and Bremen; the subsidy was $350,000 annually. In 1847 another act was passed, under which subsidies were paid to the Collins line to Liverpool, the George Law line to Aspinwall, and the Pacific Mail Steamship Company running from Panama to Oregon. In 1851 and 1852 the subsidies to the Pacific Mail and the Collins lines, respectively, were largely increased. In 1852 the total amount of subsidies for the foreign mail services was $1,946,686. About 1858 most of these subsidies were withdrawn. In 1864 a subsidy was authorized for mail service to Brazil, and in 1865 a contract for ten years was made with the United States and Brazil Steamship Company at $150,000 per annum. The same year saw a contract for monthly mail service to China with the Pacific Mail Company at an annual subsidy of $500,000. In 1872 an additional amount of $500,000 was offered to the same company for a semi-monthly service, but it was found impossible to construct the vessels as provided in the required time. Disclosures were made of corruption in obtaining the passage of the last act, public attention was forcibly directed to the matter, the Senate judiciary committee declared that the subsidy of 1872, had been forfeited by non-fulfillment of the contract on the part of the company, and the government consequently would not grant an extension of time. Both the Pacific and the Brazil subsidies ceased in 1875, and no others have been granted.

Subsidies to steamship companies have been advocated for the purposes of encouraging our carrying trade and commerce and to provide vessels that can be utilized in time of war for naval purposes. It is probable, however, that these results could be achieved more naturally in other ways and it is the general belief that corruption is apt to attend the granting of subsidies.

Sub-Treasury System.—Under the Act of July 4, 1840, the United States for the first time assumed exclusive charge of its own funds. The Bank of the United States had failed to obtain a new charter, and the system of deposits in State banks (*see Pet Banks; Specie Circular*) had been a failure. At the special session of Congress, called to meet the emergency presented by the panic of 1837, a bill providing for a treasury system independent of the banks had been introduced by the Democrats, but had failed, owing to the fact that the "conservative" Democrats joined the Whigs in opposing it. The "conservatives" had disappeared from the Congress that met in December, 1839, and during that session the bill became law through the aid of some of the Whigs who favored a sub-treasury system. The act provided for four receivers-general at New York, Boston, Charleston, and St. Louis, respectively; it made the mint at Philadelphia and its branch at New Orleans places of deposit; it provided for proper bonds for the honesty of the officials to secure the government, and ordered that after June 30, 1843, all payments to and from the government were to be in gold or silver. The success of the Whigs at the election of 1840 led to the repeal of the law, to take effect August 13, 1841. Between this date and August 6, 1846, the government funds were managed at the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury, principally by deposit in State banks, security being taken by the government. The election of 1844 brought the Democrats back to power, and a new sub-treasury act, substantially the same as the first, became law in August, 1846. The system then established is still in force. The government acts as its own bank, keeping its funds in the vaults of the treasury and of the various sub-treasuries; in addition the govern-

ment may deposit its funds with certain of the national banks designated as depositories, they giving security therefor in the shape of government bonds.

Sub-Treasury Whigs were those Whigs that, in the Twenty-sixth Congress, supported the establishment of an independent treasury. The Whig party was opposed to this measure. The sub-treasury Whigs held the balance of power in that Congress, and one of them, R. M. T. Hunter, of Virginia, was elected Speaker. The measure was, with their aid, carried by the Democrats.

Succession, Presidential. (*See Presidential Succession.*)

Suffrage is the privilege of participating in the government of a State by voting at an election of officers or on a change in the fundamental law. Two theories regarding the suffrage have been advanced; one that it is a natural right, like liberty, the other that it is a privilege extended by the government, to be exercised under such restrictions or limitations as the latter may impose. This latter principle is the one on which the majority proceed in practice, even when professing the former. The thirteen original colonies all limited the suffrage to freeholders or to those that possessed property of a certain value, or to those that had paid taxes of a certain amount. After the Revolution, however, the States began gradually to remove these restrictions, New Hampshire leading the way in 1792; the present qualifications of voters in the States are given under *Qualifications of Voters.* The Constitution of the United States does not guarantee the suffrage to any citizens of the United States. This subject is under the jurisdiction of the States; the Constitution (Article 1, sections 2 and 3, and Article 2, section 1) provides for the election of Congressmen, Senators and President, and in every case is the qualifications of the voters left to the States. (*See Qualifications of Voters.*) The Fourteenth Amendment provides for the reduction of the representation of a State in Congress, in proportion to the number of citizens deprived of the suffrage, except for crime. This was intended to guard against the disfranchisement of the recently emancipated negroes,

which object was still more effectively accomplished by the Fifteenth Amendment, which forbade the denial to a citizen of the right to vote on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. It did not, even by implication, guarantee a vote to every citizen; it simply provided that if *any* citizens vote, others shall not be forbidden to vote for any of the above reasons. Among the anomalies that have arisen under this head we may mention that in Tennessee, before the Civil War, free negroes were allowed to vote, while in Connecticut this privilege was denied to them. The Territories have no voice in the federal elections. (*See sections of Constitution last referred to.*) The governors are appointed; but the Territorial Delegate in Congress is chosen by a popular election. So also is the Territorial Legislature, which may prescribe the other qualifications of voters, provided no person shall vote unless twenty-one years of age, a citizen of the United States, or an alien that has declared his intention of becoming a citizen and has taken the required oath. Under the power thus granted women now vote in Wyoming Territory. The inhabitants of the District of Columbia cannot, of course, vote at federal elections. In its local government the District is immediately under the control of Congress. (*See Constitution, Article* 1, *section* 8, *clause* 17; *District of Columbia; Qualifications of Voters; Registration; Woman Suffrage.*)

Suffrage Party. (*See Dorr Rebellion.*)

Sumner, Charles, was born at Boston, Massachusetts, January 6, 1811, and died in Washington, March 11, 1874. He was a graduate of Harvard and a lawyer. Originally an anti-slavery Whig, he became a free-soiler in 1848, and a coalition with the Democrats elected him to the Senate in 1851, in which he sat until his death. He was an able orator, and throughout his life an uncompromising enemy of slavery. In 1856 he was the subject of a brutal and ruffianly assault in the Senate Chamber. (*See Brooks, Preston S.*) In 1871 he was removed from the Chairmanship of the Committee on Foreign Relations at the instance of the administration.

He was, thereafter, its opponent. He was in his life prominent in the impeachment of Johnson, in the Reconstruction period, in the Alabama claims, and in the controversy over the San Domingo annexation, the defeat of the last being mainly due to his efforts.

Sumptuary Laws. (*See Laws, Sumptuary.*)

Sunset Cox, a nickname for Samuel S. Cox, said to have been given to him in consequence of a very ambitious description of a sunset written while he was a journalist. He was born in Ohio, September 30, 1824, and graduated at Brown University; he was a lawyer; he served as Representative of New York until he was appointed Minister to Turkey in 1885. He returned in 1887, and again entered the House of Representatives. He was a Democrat. He died September 10, 1889.

Supreme Court. (*See Chief Justice; Judiciary.*)

Surplus, The.—"By surplus revenue is meant the money which annually remains in the Treasury of the United States after the officers of this department [the Treasury] have collected the taxes laid on the people by the laws of Congress and have paid all the expenses and obligations of the government, except principal of the interest-bearing debt." (Report of the Secretary of the Treasury, December 5, 1887.) The question as to the disposition of a surplus, as above defined, becomes of importance on occasions when there is either no public debt outstanding at the time, or when such outstanding debt has not matured, and is, therefore, not redeemable. When the outstanding public debt is redeemable, the surplus is of course applied to its extinguishment. Twice before in the experience of the United States has this problem confronted it. In 1835 the government debt was reduced to $37,733, this sum representing obligations which, though due, had not yet been presented for payment; a surplus then accumulated, and it grew so rapidly that in 1836 the government was in possession of a surplus of over $40,000,000. The disposition of this sum was long debated, the debates culminating in an Act of Congress passed in 1836, providing for the distribution among the States, in

proportion to their respective representation in Congress, of all but $5,000,000 of this sum, on condition that the States authorized their treasurers to receive these sums and agreed to refund the amounts when demanded. The sum to be divided was $37,468,859, and it was to be paid in four installments, on January 1, April 1, July 1, and October 1, 1837. The first three installments were paid to all but the few States that had refused to accept it on the conditions imposed; the fourth installment was postponed until January 1, 1839, owing to the financial situation caused by the panic of 1837, and to a deficit of about $10,000,000 in the receipts and expenditures of that year. Its payment was finally indefinitely postponed. The return of these loans to the States has never been demanded, nor is it likely that such demand will ever be made. The panic of 1837 is attributed in large part to the distribution of the surplus among the States, leading as it did to reckless inflation in banking and commercial enterprises. Just previous to 1852 a surplus again began to accumulate in the Treasury; it had been used previous to July, 1853, in the purchase in the market of government bonds to the amount of over $11,000,000; on July 30, 1853, an offer was made by the Treasury to redeem at a premium of twenty-one per cent. $5,000,000 of the loans due in 1867 and 1868, and similar offers at varying rates of premium were from time to time renewed, with the result of retiring over $42,000,000 more of the government obligations by October 1, 1857. On this total of over $53,000,000 of debt redeemed, a total premium of about $8,000,000 was paid. The debt then increased, and the outbreak soon afterward of the Civil War removed any further immediate danger of annoyance from a surplus. In 1866 the national debt reached its highest point; since then there has been a surplus in the Treasury every year, and it has heretofore been applied to the retirement of government obligations redeemable at the pleasure of the government. During this period of twenty-six years the surplus was smallest in 1874, being $2,344,882.30, and greatest in 1882, being

$145,543,810.71. During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1887, it amounted to $103,471,097.69, which is but $1,000,000 less than the surplus of 1884, the largest since the reduction of taxation in 1883 (by a revision of the tariff), although in that year the government expenses (exclusive of interest on the debt), were over $30,000,000 less than in 1887. For the fiscal year ending July 1, 1892, the surplus is estimated at $26,838,541. On July 1, 1887, the call of the government for the redemption of the last of the three per cent. bonds outstanding, matured; these bonds were the only remaining ones redeemable at the pleasure of the government. The only considerable amounts now remaining outstanding (*See Debt of United States*), are the four per cent. bonds, due in 1907, and four and one-half per cent. bonds due in 1891. These are not redeemable before maturity. The danger confronting the country lies in the accumulation in the Treasury of over $100,000,000 per year of money needed by the business interests of the country. There was no outlet by means of the payment of bonds before 1891, and long before that time such accumulation might work inconceivable hardship and distress. The government avoided this temporarily, by availing itself of a provision of the national bank laws permitting the deposit with certain of these banks of government funds secured by deposits of United States bonds with the Treasury. These deposits increased from $15,439,904 on September, 1886, to $52,199,917 on January 1, 1888. The relief thus afforded was considerable. Other temporary measures taken for the relief of the country were the purchase by the government of bonds, sealed offers for the sale of which were invited by the government in its circular of August 3, 1887; this was followed by a general offer made by the government in its circular of September 22, 1887, for the purchase prior to October 8th, of not more than $14,000,000 in all, of four per cent. and four and one-half per cent. bonds at a premium of twenty-five per cent. up to October, and twenty-four per cent. from October 1st, to October 8th, for the four's, and of eight and four-tenths per cent.

for the four and one-half's. By these two expedients bonds to the amount of about $25,000,000 were purchased at a premium of $2,852,015.88. Thus was the situation in 1887 tided over until Congress met. Then arose the necessity of measures for permanent relief. The experience of 1837 in distributing or "depositing," as it was called, funds with the States was too disastrous to be repeated. Three alternatives were given by Secretary of the Treasury: 1. The purchase of interest bearing debt. 2. Increased appropriations. 3. Reduction of taxation, so that receipts shall not more than equal expenditures. The first plan had many advocates, who maintained that the government (whose money lies idle in the Treasury vaults) does not make interest on its funds; that therefore it is not at a disadvantage in paying money now rather than in nineteen years (as would be the case with a merchant); that it must finally pay the principal of its debt *and* four per cent. interest per annum for nineteen years (in the case of the four per cent. bonds), making a total of $176 for every $100 of principal; and that therefore every bond purchased at any price cheaper than seventy-six per cent. premium is a profit to the government. The opponents objected that any large purchases would drive the price far above the present market value, which they considered a sufficiently high price for the government to pay. The objections to the second plan have been stated to be that increased expenditure for internal or other improvements tends to debauch and corrupt the public service and the country, and that, moreover, the government has no right to tax the people to an extent greater than that necessary for the purposes of the government economically administered. Both of the great political parties stand pledged to the third plan, of a reduction of taxation. The national banking system, based as its circulation is on government bonds, must necessarily fail as to one of its most important elements whenever the government bonds are all redeemed. In order to avert the immediate necessity of this, and yet to dispose of the surplus, a plan was

proposed by John Jay Knox, formerly Comptroller of the Currency, as follows: Government bonds at present outstanding are to be replaced by bonds bearing two and one-half per cent. interest, and for the amount of annual interest thus surrendered (two per cent. in the case of the four and one-half per cent., and one and one-half per cent. in the case of the four per cent.), the holders are to receive the present value of this sum calculated by the tables of annuity or 23.55 per cent. in the case of the four per cents. The amount of money thus required for the four's alone, about $175,000,000; would dispose of the surplus for several years to come, and thus give time to devise a system of permanant reduction, leaving the present principal unaffected and open to use by the national banks. A variation of this plan, instead of paying the premium in cash, provides instead for the issue to the holders of two and one-half per cent. bonds redeemable at the government's option out of the annual saving of interest. Since these plans were proposed, however, extreme liberality in the re-rating of old pensions and the granting of new ones have reduced the surplus materially, as will be seen by reference to the figures for 1891.

Suspension of Specie Payments.—(*See Commercial Crises.*)

Swinging Round the Circle, was the phrase applied by Andrew Johnson to his trip to Chicago in 1866. The occasion was the laying of the corner-stone of a monument to Stephen A. Douglas. Johnson went West, attended by a large party; in all the larger cities at which he stopped he delivered political speeches, not always in the best taste. He was frequently very violent in his abuse of Congress, with which he was then engaged in a quarrel, and on several occasions he lost his temper completely, so much so, that "Don't get mad, Andy," was the advice offered by some one in the crowd at Cleveland.

Tailor's Plot.—A scare similar to the *Tub Conspiracy.* A tailor in Philadelphia was observed to be manufacturing clothing of a foreign cut in large quantities; it was at once assumed that they were for some band of Frenchmen in conspiracy against the government. The

shop was seized and some men were imprisoned; then it turned out that they were for the use of soldiers in Hayti. This was in 1799.

Tall Sycamore of the Wabash, is a name sometimes applied to Senator Daniel W. Voorhees, of Indiana.

Tammany.—In 1789 the Columbian Order was organized in New York City by William Mooney. In 1805 it was incorporated and the name of Tammany Society was assumed, the name being taken from that of an Indian chief. Its organization was supposed in a general way to imitate Indian customs, consisting of Sachems or chiefs, a Sagamore or master of ceremonies, the members being called braves, its meeting-place the wigwam, etc. It was at first a social organization, but about 1800 the majority of its members were in sympathy with Aaron Burr, and the society entered politics under his standard. From the first the qualities that have always been most prominent in it prevailed, thorough organization and a thorough canvass. Tammany was for a short time allied with DeWitt Clinton, but they separated and Tammany came to be recognized as the regular Democratic faction. It had thus gained a position in New York politics. It has since been a factor, if a very uncertain one, to be reckoned with. Its field of greatest activity is in the local politics of New York City, but in the politics of the State its influence is considerable because of the large vote cast in New York City. About 1830 there was added to its organization the general committee, containing representatives of every election district. This unwieldy body is practically controlled by sub-committees where the leaders of the organization make their will felt. Sometimes the regular Democratic organization and sometimes a freebooter, its influence in its own party is, to a great extent, owing to fear of its treachery. In 1879, the re-nomination of Lucius Robinson did not meet its approval; it thereupon withdrew, and nominated John Kelly, its boss, as in popular phrase its leader is known. Kelly polled 77,000 votes against 375,000 for Robinson, and 418,000 for Cornell, the Republican. Tweed was its boss in the days of his success

(*see Tweed Ring*), and his overthrow dealt it a severe blow; but it has always recovered its position. Its organization and traditions both tend to make it subject to the control of a small clique, and its large following in a State always doubtful, gives it an influence in national politics otherwise out of proportion to its numerical strength.

Taney, Roger Brooke, was born in Maryland in 1777, and died in Washington in 1864. He was Attorney-General of the United States, and in 1832, was appointed Secretary of the Treasury, but failed of confirmation. In 1836 Jackson appointed him Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court, and the Senate confirmed the nomination; a few years previous his nomination to that court had been rejected. His most famous decision is the Dred Scott case (*which see*).

Tariff Commission.—A commission appointed in 1882 by President Arthur, in accordance with a congressional resolution, to take testimony and report a tariff bill to Congress. (*See Tariffs of the United States.*)

Tariff for Revenue Only.—This phrase, which has long been in use, contains the substance of the position occupied by those that believe in a fiscal tariff merely—that is, a tariff that shall provide revenues for the government without attempting to afford protection to domestic industries. (*See Tariffs of the United States.*)

Tariff is a Local Issue.—In October, 1880, an interview with General W. S. Hancock, the Democratic nominee for President, appeared in print, in which he was reported to have said: "The tariff question is a local question." This was at once seized on by his political enemies, and has become current in the form given above.

Tariff of Abominations.—A name given to the tariff of 1828.

Tariffs of the United States.—The right to levy duties on imports for the purpose of paying the national debt and providing for the common defense is granted to Congress by Article 1, section 8, clause 1, of the

Constitution. Under clause 3 of the same section Congress also has power "to regululate commerce with foreign nations," and this is understood to include the power which Congress has frequently exercised of so arranging the tariff as to protect domestic interests. The first clause above referred to provides that "all duties . . . shall be uniform throughout the United States," and section 10, clause 2, of the same article prohibits any State from levying duties without Congressional consent, "except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws." A tariff imposing duties with the sole object of securing money to carry on the government is called a fiscal tariff, or tariff for revenue only. If such is its main object, but there is a purpose at the same time of so arranging the duties as to protect home industries, it is called a tariff for revenue with incidental protection. When the chief object is to protect domestic producers and manufacturers the tariff is called protective (the so-called *American System, which see*). Under the authority of the Constitution, and to provide revenues for the new government, the first days of the First Congress saw a tariff act introduced. It was carried, and became a law July 4, 1789. The preamble to this act recited that one of its objects was "the encouragement and protection of manufacturers;" but subsequent acts have not generally made this one of their declared purposes, however much it may have been an actual one. The act of 1789 levied both specific and ad valorem duties, the average of which was equal to an ad valorem duty of eight and a half per cent. From the date of this act up to 1816 numerous tariffs (not less than seventeen) were enacted. The Embargo Act, by cutting off supplies from Europe, stimulated our home manufactures, which gained still further when, at the beginning of the War of 1812, the existing duties (which had been slightly increased from time to time since 1789) were doubled. The embargo and the war seem to have transferred much capital from the carrying-trade to manufacturing, and the latter interests now made a strong appeal for protection, which

resulted in the first essentially protective tariff in our history. The act became law on April 27, 1816, having passed the Senate by a vote of 25 to 7 and the House by 88 to 54. It was considered a Southern measure, the South at that time favoring protection while the North opposed it. This tariff favored specific rates and introduced minimum duties. A period of speculation, competition in manufacturing, and then of financial depression, led to an attempt to pass another tariff that should be still more highly protective. The attempt was successful, and on May 22, 1824, the country had a new tariff, though it barely passed Congress, having a majority of but five in the House and four in the Senate. It was advocated by the central and western sections of the country, and opposed by the South and New England. Iron, wool, hemp and sugar were protected; the average rate of duties was thirty-seven per cent. It was in the debates on this bill that it was first seriously asserted that Congress had no constitutional power to pass a tariff for protective purposes only. New England now began to favor protection to aid her growing manufactures, especially that of woolens, and the South began to think that the North and East were profiting at her expense. New England wanted high duties on woolens and cottons and low rates on iron, hemp, salt and molasses; Pennsylvania, Ohio and Kentucky had exactly the opposite interests. The result was the tariff of 1828, which was called "the tariff of abominations;" it passed the House by a vote of 105 to 74. The high duties of this law caused such a storm in the South and among certain classes in other sections, that various new tariffs were soon introduced into Congress. The result was the act of July 14, 1832, which reduced the iron duty and increased the rate on woolens. This act led to the nullification movement (*which see*), wherein South Carolina was the leader, and from that to Henry Clay's Compromise Tariff. This became a law March 2, 1833, having passed the House by a vote of 119 to 81 and the Senate by 29 to 16. Its main feature was a provision that all ad valorem duties of more than twenty per cent.

should have one-tenth of the excess cut off every two years, till, in 1842, no such duties should exceed twenty per cent. It adopted the principle of home valuation (*which see*). It was a complicated and deceptive bill, and was little better than a makeshift. It caused so little satisfaction and so diminished the revenue that in 1842 a new tariff was enacted that was based on protection principles, levied duties averaging thirty-three per cent., and re-adopted foreign valuations (*which see*). In 1846 a new tariff measure passed the House by a vote of 114 to 95, was approved by the Senate only by means of the vote of its presiding officer, and became a law. It was framed in accordance with an exhaustive and able report of Robert J. Walker, Secretary of the Treasury under Polk. The highest duty that it imposed was seventy-five per cent., the average twenty-five per cent. It was carefully framed, and produced a very much larger revenue than its immediate predecessor. In 1857 it was found necessary to reduce the customs revenue, and an act was passed cutting down the average of duty to twenty per cent. This, on the other hand, provided an insufficient income, and in 1861 the "Morrill tariff" bill was adopted, which was largely protective. The Civil War now involved the government in unusual expenses, and during its continuance many tariff measures were adopted imposing higher and higher rates of duty, primarily for the purposes of revenue, but involving in many cases protection also, and the duties were often so high that they became prohibitive. From the close of the war the Republican party may be considered as far more thoroughly devoted to the protection idea than the Democrats. The former was now in complete control of the government. On July 14, 1870, a tariff act was passed on the protection plan, making reductions chiefly on such articles as tea, coffee and sugar, and on luxuries such as wines. In 1872 tariff acts were passed making some reductions, but they retained the protective principle. No general tariff measure was now passed until 1883. In the meantime duties continued to be collected under various laws which were vexatiously conflicting—

some passed before 1861, fourteen principal statutes enacted between then and 1873, and twenty minor acts passed in the same period. In 1874 the sugar duty was increased one-fourth, and a ten per cent. reduction made by the act of 1872 on certain articles was repealed. This whole mass of high duties was called a "war tariff," and an outcry was made for a removal of the taxes that were no longer necessary to the government. The customs revenue reached its highest point in 1872, and a surplus was finally created in the Treasury that threatened financial disaster to the country and encouraged extravagance in Congressional appropriations. The protectionists, however, desired to keep the protective tariff, with some slight reductions, and reduce the income of the government by cutting down the internal revenue taxes. The opposing party desired that the high war and protective duties should be reduced. The question came to a head in 1882. In May of that year Congress appointed, through the President, a commission of nine civilians to consider the matter. President Arthur selected as members of this tariff commission persons who were protectionists. They took voluminous testimony all over the country and reported a bill to Congress in December. Neither branch of Congress was satisfied with this bill and each debated one of its own. They were finally forced to refer their measures to a conference committee composed of members of each House, a majority of whom favored high protective duties. The committee reported a bill which there was little time to consider, and which was passed one day before the close of the session and became a law on March 3, 1883; it went into effect as to most of its provisions on July 1st of the same year. The law of 1883 made many reductions, but retained in full force the protective principle. President Cleveland, in his message of December, 1887, by dealing only with the surplus and the revenue brought the tariff question prominently before Congress and the nation. The Republican party are almost unanimously in favor of high protective duties; the Democratic party are mostly in favor of extensive reduction, but a powerful

minority hold opposite views. On May 21, 1890, the ways and means committee reported to the House a tariff bill which was subsequently passed, called the "McKinley bill," after the chairman of that committee. It increases the duty on wool and all classes of woolen manufactures. (*See American System; Custom Duties; Exports and imports; Protection; Free Trade.*)

Tatooed Man.—During the presidential campaign of 1884, a New York illustrated paper published a cartoon which represented the Republican candidate, James G. Blaine, in the role of Phryne, before the Athenian judges. His robe was removed and he appeared tatooed with the names of the scandals with which his enemies tried to connect him. This was regarded as an excellent conceit, and from it arose the name of "tatooed man," so often applied to Blaine.

Taxation Without Representation is Tyranny. This phrase formulated the complaints of the colonists, before the revolution, which were the chief cause of that war for independence.

Taylor, Zachary, was born in Orange county, Virginia, November 24, 1784; he died while President, in Washington, July 9, 1850. Early in his life he accompanied his father to Kentucky, where he remained until 1808, when he was appointed to a lieutenancy in the army. His services, principally against the Indians, caused his gradual promotion, and at the outbreak of the Mexican War he was a major-general. While in command of the southwestern department, in 1840, he had purchased an estate in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, which was thereafter his residence. His distinguished services in the Mexican War brought him prominently before the public, and in 1848 he was nominated as President by the Whigs and elected. He died after having served somewhat over a year.

Tecumseh's Conspiracy.—(*See Indian Wars.*)

Temperance.—(*See Prohibition.*)

Tennessee, was originally a part of North Carolina. The settlers of this region attempted, without success, to form a separate State government in 1784, under the

name of Franklin or Frankland. It was ceded to the national government in 1789—1790. (*See Territories.*) In 1794 it was made a Territory. It was admitted to the Union on June 1, 1796. On June 8, 1861, a popular vote decided in favor of secession, and the State was readmitted to the Union by Act of July 24, 1866. The capital is Nashville. The population in 1880, was 1,542,359, and in the last census (1890) 1,767,518. Tennessee sends ten representatives to Congress, and has twelve electoral votes. In national politics it is Democratic. It is popularly known as the Big Bend State. (*See Governors; Legislatures.*)

Tenure of Office Act.—(*See Term and Tenure of Office.*)

Term and Tenure of Office.—The term of an office is the period for which, the tenure the conditions under which, the office is to be held. Article 2, section 2, clause 2, of the Constitution provides that the President "shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior offices, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments;" and clause 3, of the same article, says "the President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions, which shall expire at the end of their next session." Congress has accordingly vested in the courts, the heads of departments and the President alone the appointment of the great bulk of the officers of the government, who are termed "inferior" officers, though that term is not susceptible of exact definition. It is considered that the power of removal is given with the power of appointment, except as provided by law. Up to Jackson's time it was the theory of our government that removals should only be made for cause, but then the introduc-

tion of the "spoils system" led to frequent removals for purely partisan reasons, and that was the custom followed to a recent date. (*See Civil Service Reform.*) Prior to 1820 no term of office was provided for any inferior officer, except United States Marshals, but in that year a bill was passed providing that district-attorneys, naval officers (these are officials in the customs service,) navy agents, surveyors and collectors of customs, paymasters and some other officers, should be appointed for terms of four years. In 1836 a bill was passed providing that postmasters receiving a thousand dollars a year or more, should be appointed by the President for terms of four years and confirmed by the Senate, and should be removable at the pleasure of the President. Various other offices have since been given the same term. The "tenure of office act," that is generally meant when the phrase is used, was the one of March 2, 1867. This act, and one passed in 1869, provided that no officer subject to confirmation by the Senate should be removed without the consent of that body, but during a recess of the Senate the President might remove such officer and appoint a successor till the end of the next session of the Senate. There were about 3,500 officers subject to the provisions of these acts, which gave a power to the Senate that was not contemplated in the formation of our government: which increased its power of rewarding political services, and by the "courtesy of the Senate" (*which see*), have virtually given to the Senators of a State the control of the appointments therein. This was part of the plan by which the spoils system grew and flourished, and many demands have been made that the government should return to its early policy of unrestricted terms for inferior officers during efficiency and good behavior, and should take from the Senate its usurped prerogative of passing judgment on the removals of the President. These acts were repealed by the Act of March 3, 1887.

Territories.—Many of the boundaries of the thirteen original States of the Union were not precisely defined and it was years before the conflicting claims were set-

tled between them. Moreover, aside from the boundaries of the States proper, seven of them claimed territory as far as the Mississippi, under their original charters and grants from the King of England. Four of the present States have been formed out of well defined territory of four of the original States. Vermont was originally claimed as part of New York, Kentucky and West Virginia were within the original limits of Virginia, and Maine was at first under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. The remaining territory of the United States east of the Mississippi (which comprises the original extent) was claimed by Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, and their claims often overlapped each other. Gradually these claims were ceded to the federal government, sometimes freely, sometimes for a compensation. New York in 1781 ceded her vague western claims. Virginia followed in 1784, receiving some land in Ohio, and Massachusetts in 1785. Connecticut's cession of 1781, reserving a tract along Lake Erie (a tract in Ohio still known as the "western reserve"), was accepted by Congress in 1786. In 1800 Virginia and Connecticut, while retaining the property in their lands in Ohio, gave up the jurisdiction to the national government. South Carolina gave up her claims in 1787; North Carolina in 1789 ceded Tennessee, which was accepted by Congress in 1790; Georgia ceded her claims in 1802, which were accepted the next year. The region which now comprises the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and that part of Minnesota east of the Mississippi were organized into the Northwest Territory, by the ordinance of 1787 (*which see*). In 1800 Ohio, preparatory to its admission as a State, was separated from this region, and the remainder became known as the Indiana Territory. Tennessee and Kentucky, though never organized under one territorial government, were generally known as the Territory of the United States southwest of the Ohio, or the Southwest Territory. The organization of Mississippi Territory, including the present State of that

name, and Alabama, was commenced in 1798, and completed two years later; when Mississippi became a State in 1817 the remainder of the district was called Alabama Territory. The regions which the United States has acquired since 1783 are described under the article *Annexations*. California was so soon admitted as a State that it was never organized as a Territory, and Texas was annexed as a State. The other portions of these acquisitions have borne various names from time to time; prominent among these are the Territories of Orleans, Louisiana and Missouri. All that portion of the Louisiana purchase south of what is now the northern boundary of the State of Louisiana, was by Act of March 26, 1804, organized into the Territory of Orleans. The Act of April 8, 1812, admitted this Territory to the Union as the State of Louisiana. The remainder of the Louisiana purchase was, by Act of Congress, March 3, 1805, organized into the Territory of Louisiana, with its capital at St. Louis. On June 4, 1812, shortly after the admission of the Territory of Orleans into the Union as the State of Louisiana, the name of the Territory of Louisiana was altered to Missouri. The Missouri Compromise of 1820 (*which see*) resulted in the admission of that State in 1821, and from the Territory of the same name various States and Territories have since been formed. There are at present five organized and two (Alaska and Indian Territory) unorganized Territories of the United States. The unorganized Territories are under the direct control of Congress. Each organized Territory has a Governor, appointed by the President, for four years and ratified by the Senate. The Legislature, officially known as the Legislative Assembly, is composed of a Council and a House of Representatives, chosen every two years by the people. A delegate to Congress is elected for the same term. He has the right of debate, but not a vote in the House. Territorial legislation is subject to Congressional control. Territorial courts are provided for, the judges of which are appointed by the President for four years, and confirmed by the Senate, and over which the

Supreme Court of the United State has appellate jurisdiction.

Territory Southwest of the Ohio. (*See Territories.*)

Texas was originally a part of Mexico, from which it declared its independence, and it was annexed to the United States as a State by joint resolution of Congress, December 29, 1845. (*See Annexations III.*) On February 1, 1861, a State convention passed an ordinance of secession, which was ratified by popular vote. Texas was re-admitted to the Union by Act of Congress, March 30, 1870. The capital is Austin. The population in 1880 was 1,591,749, and in the last census (1890) 2,235,523. Texas has eleven seats in the House of Representatives and thirteen electoral votes, which can safely be relied on by the Democratic party. Popularly it is call the Lone Star State. (*See Governors; Legislatures.*)

Them Steers.—Solon Chase was a member of the Greenback party, which created some political excitement a few years ago, especially in Maine. He was accustomed to travel through that State with a banner bearing the picture of a yoke of steers and a bushel of corn, together with various other figures. These were used to illustrate Chase's argument that the resumption of specie payments was a mistake. He always referred to the prominent figures on the banner as "them steers."

Thermopylæ of Texas.—When Texas was fighting for independence, in February, 1836, about 140 of her troops were besieged by 4,000 Mexicans in Fort Alamo on the San Antonio River. For a week or two they made a heroic struggle against overwhelming odds, and inflicted great damage on their opponents. At last, however, the six survivors, among whom was "Davy" Crocket, surrendered to Santa Anna under the promise of his protection. At the command of that general, however, they were butchered, and their fallen comrades were horribly mutilated. But three persons survived the massacre—a woman, a child and a servant. Thereafter the Texans were roused to fury by the cry, "Remember the

Alamo!" In allusion to the heroic defense made by the Greeks of antiquity at Thermopylæ, this struggle is known as the Thermopylæ of Texas.

Third House. (*See Lobby, The.*)

Third Term.—General U. S. Grant served as President two terms, from 1869 to 1877. The precedent set by Washington in declining a third term, has generated a prejudice in the American mind against more than two terms. A large faction of the Republican party, headed by Roscoe Conkling, of New York, desired the nomination of Grant by the Republican National Convention in 1880. It was asserted that his candidacy for a third term was in reality the same as the candidacy of a new man, for one term had intervened since Grant had left office. The faction supporting Grant was known as the Stalwarts (*which see*). It constituted a firm body of a little over 300 votes in a total of about 750. Despite changes and vacillations on the part of the adherents of other candidates, this following, with insignificant variations, clung to Grant to the last, casting 306 votes for him on the last ballot, which nominated Garfield. Medals commemorative of the event were subsequently struck and sent to these delegates. This band is frequently referred to by sympathizers as the "Gallant 306," the "Stalwart 306," etc.

This is the Last of Earth; I am Content.—The dying words of John Quincy Adams. He was stricken with apoplexy while in his seat in the House of Representatives and died two days later, February 23, 1848.

Thomas Jefferson Still Survives.—The dying words of John Adams. Thomas Jefferson had passed away a few hours before on the same day, unknown to Adams.

Three Hundred and Six. (*See Third Term.*)

Three Hundred and Twenty-Nine.—A campaign cry of the Democrats in 1880, originating in charges against the Republican candidate, James A Garfield, in connection with the Credit Mobilier scandal (*which see*).

Thurman, Allen G., was born in Lynchburg, Virginia, November 13, 1813. In his childhood his family

moved to Ohio, where he was subsequently admitted to the bar. He represented his State in the Twenty-ninth Congress. From 1851 to 1856 he was on the State Supreme Court bench, the last two years as Chief Justice. He served in the United States Senate from 1869 to 1881. In 1888 he was nominated by the Democratic party for Vice President, but was defeated.

Tidal Wave.—In political parlance an election is said to be a "tidal wave" election when the majority of the winning party is, from any cause, unprecedentedly large. The comparison is obvious.

Tilden, Samuel Jones, was born in New Lebanon, Columbia County, New York, February 9, 1814, and died August 4, 1886. He was graduated at the New York University, having previously studied at Yale, and became a lawyer. In 1845 he was elected to the Assembly as a Democrat, and joined the Barnburner faction. He soon after retired to the practice of law, and did not again appear until about 1869. He was active in overthrowing the Tweed ring in New York City, and the prominence thus gained led to his nomination and election as Governor in 1874. In that position he broke up the canal ring in the State, and in 1876 received the Democratic nomination for President. He was defeated. (*See Contested Presidential and Vice-Presidential Elections; Electoral Commission.*) The Democrats have always maintained that he was defrauded of the presidency.

Times That Try Men's Souls.—In 1776, when the patriot cause against Great Britain was looking very dark, Thomas Paine published the first number of his *American Crisis*, which commenced with the sentence: "These are the times that try men's souls."

Tippecanoe and Tyler Too.—(*See Hard Cider Campaign.*)

Tissue Ballots are votes printed on thin tissue paper, for the purpose of enabling more than one vote to be cast by an individual. It was charged that this form of election fraud was especially common at the South, used for the purpose of depriving the negro of his political power.

To be Prepared for War is one of the Most Effectual Means of Preserving Peace.—This sentence occurs in the address which Washington delivered in person before Congress at the opening of its second session, January 8, 1790.

Toledo War.—In 1835, a dispute which had smouldered for some years between the State of Ohio and Michigan Territory came to a head. The controversy arose as to a tract of land, which included the city of Toledo, and was claimed by both the State and the Territory: hence the name of the Toledo war. The militia were called out on both sides. Finally the national government interferred. President Jackson removed Governor Mason, of Michigan Territory, for his officiousness, and Congress, in 1836, settled the controversy by admitting Michigan as a State on condition of her yielding the claim to the tract in dispute, the Upper Peninsula being given her in compensation. Under this act Michigan became a State in January of the next year.

Tompkins, Daniel D., was born at Searsdale, New York, June 21, 1774, and died on Staten Island, New York, June 11, 1825. He was a lawyer, and a graduate of Columbia. He served as justice of the Supreme Court of the State, and as Governor from 1807 to 1817. From 1817 to 1825 he was Vice-President of the United States. He was a Democrat. During the War of 1812, while Governor of New York, he personally rendered considerable financial aid to the federal government, with the result of passing his last days deeply in debt.

Tonnage Tax.—A tax imposed on each ton of burden of vessels entering in a port. (*See Navigation Laws.*)

Tory.—The terms Whig and Tory had been in use in English politics for about one hundred years before the American Revolution; the first as designating the faction opposing the royal prerogative and generally in favor of reforms, the latter as upholding the prerogative and clinging to old institutions. In the colonial days of this country, the term Tory thus came to mean an adherent of the crown, and the term Whig an opponent thereof,

and so at the outbreak of the Revolution the American sympathizers were known as Whigs, the supporters of England as Tories. The termination of the war and the resulting independence of this country, did away with differences characterized by the terms and so with the terms themselves. (*See American Whigs.*)

To the Victor Belong the Spoils of the Enemy. In 1832 Martin Van Buren was nominated by President Jackson for the post of Minister to England. He was rejected. In the course of the debate on his nomination, it was charged that Van Buren had introduced in Washington the spoils system as practiced in New York politics. Senator William L. Marcy, of New York, in replying, used the following language in reference to these New York politicians: "They see nothing wrong in the rule that to the victor belong the spoils of the enemy."

Trade Dollars.—(*See Coinage.*)

Trading is a form of political treachery. When an organization withholds its support from a particular candidate or candidates of its own party and works for his opponent at the polls, it is said to be "trading" its candidate off. The friends of the opponent thus aided, agree in return to support some other candidate of the organization. The success of some member of a ticket is thus assured by the abandonment of the remainder. An organization will sometimes thus abandon one of its candidates even when it has no desire to insure by his defeat the election of some other of its own nominees; in those cases the consideration is money and the transaction is termed selling out. Both of these operations are common, especially in cities where voters are many and organizations compact. They are usually carried out by printing on ballots the names of all the regular party nominees, except that of the candidate traded off; for this name that of the opponent is substituted, and as voters usually do not scan their ballots carefully, the result is easily accomplished. In New York City where the Democratic majority is overwhelming, it is very common for a local Republican ticket to be nominated, with no intention of honest support, but merely for the pur-

pose of trading it off, and of thus gaining votes for the Republican State or national ticket. To remedy these evils some States have provided for the printing of ballots at the public expense.

Treason is an act of disloyalty to a government of which the offender is a citizen or subject. It is sometimes called high treason in distinction from petit treason, which is the killing of a person to whom the criminal owes duty or obedience, as a husband or a master. Petit treason in England and the United States is now considered merely as murder. Misprision of treason is concealment by one who has knowledge of a treasonable act. By the Constitution, Article 3, section 3, treason against the United States consists "only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort." The history of European nations shows that kings have made free use of accusations of treason to secure the death of political offenders and to obtain possession of their property. To avoid this form of oppression in the United States, the Constitution further provides that conviction of treason can only follow "on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court," and that forfeiture of property shall last no longer than the criminal's life. The Act of 1790 prescribed death as the punishment of treason. The trial of Aaron Burr was the most important one that occurred under this act. By the Act of 1862 the punishment of treason, in the discretion of the court, is death or imprisonment for not less than five years and a fine of not less than $10,000; the slaves of the offender were also declared free, and he was rendered incapable of holding federal office. At the close of the Civil War there were a few indictments for treason at the South, including that of Jefferson Davis, but these were never pushed to trial. Treason may also be committed against the individual States of the Union, and the Constitutions of most of them define treason in a similar way to the wording of the federal Constitution. Prosecutions for treason against a State are very rare. The prosecution of the leader of the Dorr Rebellion, in

Rhode Island, resulted in his being sentenced to imprisonment for life, but in a few years he was restored to liberty and all his rights. (*See Attainder.*)

Treasury Department is one of the three original executive departments of the government. It was established by Act of Congress of September 2, 1789. At its head is the Secretary of the Treasury, who is a member of the President's Cabinet. He is appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. His salary is $8,000. This department has charge and control not only of all the fiscal affairs of the government, but also of the national banks (so far as they are subject to government control), of the currency and coinage, of the customs and internal revenue systems, the commercial marine, the light-house and life-saving systems, the coast and interior surveys, the inspection of steam vessels and of the marine hospitals. The principal assistants of the Secretary are given below:

	Salary.
Assistant-Secretary	$4,500
Assistant-Secretary	4,500
Assistant-Secretary	4,500
Chief Clerk	3,000
Director of Mint	4,500
Chief Bureau of Statistics	3,000
Supt. Life Saving Service	4,000
Chairman Light House Board	5,000
Chief Bureau Engraving	4,500
Supervis. Surg.-General	4,000
Supt. Coast Survey	6,000
Comm. of Navigation	3,600
First Comptroller	5,000
Second Comptroller	5,000
Comp. of Customs	4,000
First Auditor	3,600
Second Auditor	3,600
Third Auditor	3,600
Fourth Auditor	3,600
Fifth Auditor	3,600
Sixth Auditor	3,600
Treasurer	6,000
Comm. of Internal Revenue	6,000
Comp. of Currency	5,000

Below is given a list of the Secretaries of the Treasury from the beginning of the government:

NAME.	STATE.	TERM.
Alexander Hamilton	New York	1789—1795
Oliver Wolcott	Connecticut	1795—1801
Samuel Dexter	Massachusetts	1801—1801
Albert Gallatin	Pennsylvania	1801—1814
George W. Campbell	Tennessee	1814—1814
Alexander James Dallas	Pennsylvania	1814—1816
William H. Crawford	Georgia	1816—1825
Richard Rush	Pennsylvania	1825—1829
Samuel D. Ingham	Pennsylvania	1829—1831
Louis McLane	Delaware	1831—1833
William J. Duane	Pennsylvania	1833—1833
Roger B. Taney	Maryland	1833—1834
Levi Woodbury	New Hampshire	1834—1841
Thomas Ewing	Ohio	1841—1841
Walter Forward	Pennsylvania	1841—1843
John C. Spencer	New York	1843—1844
George M. Bibb	Kentucky	1844—1845
Robert J. Walker	Mississippi	1845—1849
William M. Meredith	Pennsylvania	1849—1850
Thomas Corwin	Ohio	1850—1853
James Guthrie	Kentucky	1853—1857
Howell Cobb	Georgia	1857—1860
Philip F. Thomas	Maryland	1860—1861
John A. Dix	New York	1861—1861
Salmon P. Chase	Ohio	1861—1864
William Pitt Fessenden	Maine	1864—1865
Hugh McCulloch	Indiana	1865—1869
George S. Boutwell	Massachusetts	1869—1873
William A. Richardson	Massachusetts	1873—1874
Benjamin H. Bristow	Kentucky	1874—1876
Lot M. Morrill	Maine	1876—1877
John Sherman	Ohio	1877—1881
William Windom	Minnesota	1881—1881
Charles J. Folger	New York	1881—1884
Walter Q. Gresham	Indiana	1884—1884
Hugh McCulloch	Maryland	1884—1885
Daniel Manning	New York	1885—1887
Charles S. Fairchild	New York	1887—1889
William Windom	Maine	1889—1891
Charles Foster	Ohio	1891—

Treasury, Secretary of the. (*See Treasury Department.*)

Treaties of the United States.—For treaties relating to the Canadian fisheries *see Fishery Treaties.* For the other important treaties, which have distinctive names *see Ashburton Treaty; Burlingame Treaty; Clayton-Bulwer Treaty; Jay's Treaty; Tripartite Treaty; Treaty of Ghent; Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo; Treaty of Paris;*

Treaty of Washington. See also Annexations; Barbary Pirates; Extradition; Northeast Boundary; Northwest Boundary.

Treaty of Ghent.—In the summer of 1814 commissioners from England and the United States met abroad for the purpose of negotiating a treaty to end the War of 1812. Our representatives were John Quincy Adams, James A. Bayard, Henry Clay, Jonathan Russell and Albert Gallatin. The representatives of England were Lord Gambier, Henry Goulburn, and William Adams. These agents of both nations met at Ghent, Belgium, where, on the 24th of December, 1814, they signed a treaty of peace. It was unanimously ratified by the United States Senate on February 17, 1815, and proclaimed by the President the next day. The treaty took away from Great Britain the right to freely navigate the Mississippi River, it provided for commissions to settle the title to islands in Passamaquoddy Bay and to mark the northern boundary of the United States as far west as the Lake of the Woods; it declared against the slave trade. It was also a treaty of peace and ended the war, but it is noteworthy that the most important dispute between the two nations was left unmentioned. The rights in the fisheries, rights of neutral nations, the rights of expatriation (*which see*) and the impressment of American seaman, which last was the immediate cause of the war, were thus left unsettled by the treaty. It is supposed, however, that some assurances were given aside from the treaty that impressment should no longer be continued, and, as a matter of fact, our seamen have never since that time been impressed.

Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.—On February 2, 1848, Nicholas P. Trist, representing the United States, and three commissioners representing Mexico, signed a treaty of peace at Guadalupe Hidalgo, in Mexico. The treaty provided for the final cessation of the hostilities of the Mexican War, and the United States agreed to withdraw its troops from Mexico. The southwestern boundary of Texas was fixed at the Rio Grande, as our government had claimed. New Mexico and California were

ceded to the United States, in return for which territory we were to pay $15,000,000 and assume the payment of claims of United States citizens against Mexico, amounting to $3,250,000. Both governments ratified the treaty, and on July 4, 1848, President Polk proclaimed peace. (*See Annexations IV.*)

Treaty of Paris (1783).—On November 30, 1782, a preliminary treaty of peace was signed with Great Britain at Paris; Congress ratified it in the following April. The commissioners on the part of Great Britain were Oswald, Fitzherbert and Strachey, and on the part of the United States, Franklin, Jay, John Adams and Henry Laurens. On September 3, 1783, at Paris, a definitive treaty of peace was signed by commissioners from the nations that had been engaged in war, namely, Holland, Spain, France, Great Britain and the United States. So far as we are concerned, the chief importance of this treaty is that it acknowledged the complete independence of the United States. Great Britain ceded Florida to Spain and retained Canada and Nova Scotia, with exclusive control of the St. Lawrence; the rest of the territory east of the Mississippi was given up to the United States, with the right of free navigation of the great lakes and the Mississippi, and with practically equal rights on the Newfoundland fishing grounds.

Treaty of Washington.—Many treaties have been negotiated at Washington, but the history of the one commonly known as the Treaty of Washington is as follows: In January, 1871, Great Britain proposed to the United States that a joint commission should be appointed to draw up a treaty in settlement of various open questions existing between the two governments. At the instance of the United States the Alabama claims were included among the subjects for consideration, and on February 27, 1871, five high commissioners of each of these nations met at Washington. On May 8th, they concluded their deliberations, and signed the treaty which they had drawn up, and which is the one generally known as the Treaty of Washington, though others have been negotiated in that city. It was at once rati-

fied by the Senate and by Great Britain, and on July 4, 1871, was proclaimed to be in force by President Grant. It provided that the disputed questions should be referred to arbitration as follows: 1. The Alabama Claims were to be settled by a tribunal of five persons appointed by the President of the United States, the Queen of Great Britain, the King of Italy, the President of Switzerland and the Emperor of Brazil. (*See Geneva Award.*) 2. A commission was to be appointed and to sit at Washington to decide on certain claims of Great Britaim against the United States, for injuries to the persons and property of British subjects by the forces of the United States during the Civil War. 3. It readmitted American fishermen to certain rights in British waters, and the compensation to be paid for this privilege was referred to a joint commission which was to sit at Halifax, Nova Scotia. (*See Fishery Treaties; Halifax Fishery Commission.*) 4. The dispute as to the Northwestern Boundary line between Vancouver's Island and the mainland was submitted to the Emperor of Germany. (*See Northwestern Boundary.*) The final settlement of these questions was in the main favorable to the United States, wholly so as to the Northwestern Boundary, and largely so in the matter of the Alabama Claims, but the Halifax Award to be paid to Great Britain was generally considered in this country as excessive. The Treaty itself was favorably received, the Senate ratifying it by a vote of fifty to twelve; its reference of disputed points to arbitration was applauded by the peace-loving people of the United States, and was an important event in the history of international treaty-making.

Trent Affair.—In the Autumn of 1861, on one of the blockade runners which succeeded in escaping from Charleston, sailed James M. Mason and John Slidell, who had been appointed by the Confederate Government as Commissioners to England and France, respectively. They reached Havana, and then sailed on the British mail-steamer *Trent*. On November 8, 1861, this vessel was stopped by the United States steamer *San Jacinto*,

Captain Wilkes. Mason and Slidell were taken off and conveyed to Boston, where they were imprisoned in Fort Warren. This action of Wilkes met with hearty support among the people of the North. England, however, felt outraged, demanded reparation for the insult to her flag, and commenced preparations for hostilities. Secretary of State Seward saw the inconsistency of our maintaining the right of search which, when exercised by Great Britain, had been a leading cause for the War of 1812. He therefore apologized for Wilkes' unauthorized action, and Mason and Slidell were set at liberty and sailed for England early in January, 1862. Though Wilkes' action was disavowed by the executive government for diplomatic and State reasons, Wilkes received a vote of thanks from the House of Representatives, and in 1862 was made a Commodore and placed first on the list. Seward's statesmanship had delivered the United States from what promised to be a serious difficulty. The immemorial doctrine of the United States as to neutral vessels was adhered to, Great Britain herself was now committed to the same position, a foreign war was prevented, and the hopes of the Confederates for such an outcome of the dispute were disappointed.

Tripartite Treaty.—In consequence of the filibustering expeditions of Lopez to Cuba in 1850 and 1851 (*see Filibusters*), France and England believed, or pretended to believe, that the United States were meditating the conquest of Cuba, though our government had disavowed any such intention and had acted in accordance with such disavowal. In 1852 France and Great Britain proposed that the United States should join them in a tripartite treaty, by which each government should pledge itself forever not to attempt the acquisition of Cuba and to discountenance any nation's making such an attempt. Edward Everett, then Secretary of State, replied with an able paper in December, 1852. He disclaimed any such intention on the part of the United States as was suspected, but asserted, in accordance with the Monroe doctrine, that the question was purely

an American one in which our government would not see with indifference any foreign interference.

Triple-Headed Monster.—A nickname applied to the Constitution while it was before the people for ratification, in allusion to its division of the government into executive, legislative and judicial branches.

Tripoli, War With.—(*See Barbary Pirates.*)

Trusts.—A corporation derives certain benefits from the State and is in turn subject to certain State control. To avoid this State control, and in order thus to enable the largest firms and corporations in any particular trade to combine, and by combined action to limit production and raise prices while killing off the competition any outsider may dare to offer, what are known as trusts, have been devised. A trust is merely the combination for the above purposes of the large interests in any branch of trade. There is no incorporation. There is an agreement between the parties; the profits of all are divided in certain ascertained proportions, and the public can not from any sensible sign know whether or not such a combination exists. Secrecy and irresponsibility are its objects.

Tub Conspiracy.—During John Adams' administration the Federalists were, or pretended to be, afraid of plots against the government, on the part of the French agents in America. In 1799 the department of State pretended to have information of the departure for the United States of secret agents of France, having in their possession documents dangerous to our peace. The vessel was boarded immediately on its arrival at Charleston, South Carolina, four men and a woman, passengers on board, were arrested as the spies, and two tubs, in a false bottom of which the papers were said to be hidden, were seized. The passengers turned out to be no spies and the papers were not compromising. (*See Tailor's Plot.*)

Turner's, Nat, Rebellion.—(*See Nat Turner's Rebellion.*)

Tweed Ring.—In 1857 an act was passed by the Legislature of New York, allowing every voter in New

York City to put the names of but six supervisors on his ballot, although twelve were to be elected. The practical result of this was the election of the six supervisors nominated by the Republicans and of the six nominated by the Democrats. Nomination by the machine was made equivalent to an election. In the next year their terms were extended to six years. Of this board of supervisors William M. Tweed was the leading spirit; he was four times its president. The board was the nucleus of a political ring that controlled legislation at Albany, concerning the city of New York, and the votes in the city itself. The Republican part of the ring busied themselves with the former object, the Democratic with the latter. This combination, controlling all local offices, plundered the city at its will; in April, 1870, an act was passed, conferring on the mayor, the comptroller, the commissioner of parks and the commissioner of public works, the practical control of city affairs. In the last named official were combined the duties of the former street commissioners and Croton water department officials; he was to be appointed by the mayor; the term of office was four years, and it was provided that the only method of removal was by impeachment by the mayor and trial before *all* of the six judges of Common Pleas. As was anticipated, Tweed was at once appointed to the office. Of about $12,000,000 of plunder, it is estimated that $3,800,000 was taken in 1869; $880,000 in 1870, before the passage of the above act; $6,250,000 in 1870, after the passage of the act, and $323,000 in 1871. The enormous sums of money controlled by the ring gave it for a time almost unlimited power. Tweed, as the head of Tammany and leader of the ring, was "boss" of the city—absolute in power. The tax-payers seemed powerless, but the disclosures of a clerk in the comptroller's office enabled the *Times* to make an exposé showing the enormity of the frauds, and in September, 1871, a mass meeting was held, a committee of twenty, headed by H. G. Stebbins as chairman, was appointed, and, with Charles O'Conor to represent the people, the ring was proceeded against.

Connolly, the comptroller, resigned and was arrested; when released on $500,000 bail he went to Europe. Sweeney, the Park Commissioner, resigned and fled. The prosecution of A. Oakey Hall, the Mayor, was abandoned after two mistrials. Tweed himself was tried and a disagreement resulted; on a second trial he was convicted and sentenced to a fine and twelve years imprisonment. His sentence being cumulative, was, on appeal, held to be illegal. He was discharged (1875), but immediately re-arrested on a criminal charge, and also in a civil suit for over $6,500,000. Soon after, he managed to escape from custody and reached Spain. He was delivered up in 1876 and placed on Blackwell's Island. A verdict for the full amount was given in the civil suit, but only a small part was collected. He died April 12, 1878.

Twenty-first Rule of the House of Representatives, between 1840 and 1844, was intended to prevent the introduction of petitions on the subject of slavery. (*See Gag Laws.*)

Twenty-four Hour Rule. (*See Neutrality.*)

Twisting the British Lion's Tail.—There are in this country a great many Irishmen. Their sympathies are naturally with Ireland in the attempt of the latter to extort Home Rule from England, and any demonstration on the part of this country that can in any way be deemed hostile to England, is welcomed by them. In order to curry favor with this vote, it is the practice of some Congressmen to abuse England at every opportunity in Congressional debates. England is usually typified as a lion, and so the operation is popularly called as above.

Tyler, John, was born in Charles County, Virginia, March 29, 1790, and died in Richmond, Virginia, January 17, 1862. He was a lawyer and a graduate of William and Mary College. From 1811 to 1816 he served in the State Legislature; from 1816 to 1821 in the House of Representatives; from 1823 to 1825 again in the State Legislature, and as Governor from 1825 to 1827. From 1827 to 1836 he was United States Senator.

He was originally a Republican (Democratic-Republican), but was elected Senator as a National Republican. Although a believer in the extreme State rights doctrine, he yet remained with the Whigs when Calhoun and his followers went back to the Democratic party, and resigned his seat in the Senate rather than obey the instructions of the Legislature of his State to vote for the motion expunging from the Journal the resolution censuring President Jackson. (*See Censures of the President by Congress.*) In 1838 he was elected as a Whig to the Virginia Legislature, and the Whig national convention of 1840 nominated him for Vice-President, to conciliate the Clay faction, which had been sorely disappointed at Harrison's nomination. On Harrison's death, a month after assuming office, Tyler became President. A quarrel between the President and the bulk of his party broke out almost immediately on the subject of Bank of the United States. His views differed widely from those of the Whigs, and his supporters in Congress were known as the Corporal's Guard. The principal event of his administration was the annexation of Texas. (*See Annexations III.*) At the expiration of his term Tyler retired to private life, but reappeared as the president of the Peace Conference in 1861. On the failure of its efforts he joined the Confederacy and became a member of the Confederate Congress.

Uncle Abe was a familiar appellation of Abraham Lincoln.

Uncle Sam is a familiar phrase used to designate the United States, just as John Bull is used to represent England. In cartoons Uncle Sam is drawn as a tall, spare man, with a thin, straggling beard, dressed in a swallow-tail coat of blue with white stars, and a pair of red and white stripped trousers with straps; he has long outgrown his clothing and the straps have stretched halfway up his leg; on his head is a white, cylindrical shaped hat, of the kind vulgarly known as stove-pipe. He is usually represented as whittling a stick of wood. This latter is said to be a characteristic of New Englanders and the whole figure, in fact, is that of the typical New England

countryman, as he is popularly supposed to look, excepting his costume. The name originated as follows: During the War of 1812 a man named Samuel Wilson was government inspector at Troy, of pork and beef purchased by the government. The cases containing the provisions shipped to the government by a contractor named Elbert Anderson were marked with his initials, E. A., and below U. S., standing for United States. One of the government workmen, new at the task, asked the meaning of U. S. and was jocularly informed that it meant Uncle Sam Wilson. This pleasantry was repeated in various forms, and Wilson was congratulated on the extent of his property as many cases passing there were so marked. The story spread and took firm root, and to-day the allusion is everywhere understood.

Unconditional Surrender.—In February, 1862, Grant, assisted by a fleet of gunboats under Admiral Foot, was endeavoring to effect the capture of Fort Donelson, situated on the Cumberland River, in Tennessee. He was so successful that the Confederate Generals, Floyd and Pillow, had fled, leaving General Buckner in command. That officer saw the hopelessness of his situation and wrote to Grant asking what terms of surrender would be allowed. General Grant replied: "No terms other than an unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works." Buckner yielded on February 16th. This was a valuable victory from the number of prisoners and arms and the quantity of stores which it secured, and it was the first striking success of the Civil War for the federal army. The phrase "unconditional surrender" passed at once into popular use. The Republican platform of 1864, on which Lincoln stood for reëlection, approved "the determination of the government of the United States not . . . to offer any terms of peace except such as may be based upon an unconditional surrender."

Underground Railroad.—During the slavery days in this country there was in the Northern States a more or less organized system of aiding fugitive slaves to free-

dom. Once in Canada, the slaves were safe, and the efforts of those engaged in aiding them consisted principally in secreting and caring for the fugitives. This system was popularly known as the Underground Railroad, the houses of those engaged in the work being called "stations." Negroes would be secreted in these stations during the day, and at night hurried on to the next station, until at length Canada was reached. The risk run by those engaged in the work was considerable, as the slave power had agents in the Northern States watching over its interests, and prosecutions and imprisoments were by no means rare. Most prominent in the work was Levi Coffin, often called the president of the road, who, it is estimated, aided in the escape of over 2,500 slaves.

Under-measurement is a means of defrauding the government of part of its duties on imports paying specific duties. The invoices are made to state measurements under the actual ones, and the importer is thus enabled to escape the payment of the full duties, unless, indeed, the officials become aware of the fraud.

Under-valuation is a means, frequently employed, of defrauding the government of part of its duties on imports paying ad valorem duties. The goods are invoiced at an amount less than the actual value, and unless the fraud is detected by the customs officers the importer thus avoids paying the full amount of duty.

Unionist Party. (*See Constitutional Union Party.*)

Union Labor Party.—This party was organized at a convention held in Cincinnati, February 23, 1887. It has a national organization, whose principal strength is in the West. It must not be confused with the United Labor party, a New York State organization. In New York the Union Labor party has no branch. Its platform declares in favor of a graduated land and income tax; the opening of Indian lands to settlement; government telegraphs and railroads; abolition of national banks; the free coinage of silver; payment of national debt at maturity; a direct vote for Senators; exclusion of the Chinese; woman suffrage; arbitration of labor

disputes: and against contract labor in prisons; the further issue of interest-bearing government bonds, and the employment of armed men by private corporations. (*See United Labor Party.*)

Union Must be Preserved.—During the nullification troubles a dinner was given in Washington, April 13, 1830, to celebrate Jefferson's birthday. To this all the prominent Democrats were asked. The toasts had been so arranged as to give to the dinner the appearance of indorsing the nullifiers. At the conclusion of the regular toasts President Andrew Jackson responded to the call for a sentiment with, "Our federal union: it must be preserved."

Union Party.—This name was adopted during the Civil War to denote the elements sanctioning the war as a means of preserving the Union. Under it were included Republicans and war Democrats.

United Labor Party.—This party originated in the city of New York in 1886, being founded on the land principles of Henry George (*see his name*). George was prominently identified with it, and was its candidate for mayor in that year, receiving 68,110 votes, against 90,552 received by the Democratic and 60,435 by the Republican nominee. In the following year the organization was spread throughout the State, and was perfected at a convention held in Syracuse, August 19th. A platform was adopted and George was nominated for Secretary of State of New York. The refusal of the convention to adopt a platform satisfactory to a certain faction led to the withdrawal of that faction, and its separate organization as a political party under the name of Progressive Labor Party (*which see*). In the election George received 70,055 votes, against 469,888 for the Democratic, 452,811 for the Republican, and 7,622 for the Progressive Labor candidate. The platform of the United Labor Party declared that it does "not aim at securing any forced equality in the distribution of wealth, . . . nor . . . propose that the State shall take possession of land and either work it or rent it out," but that it desires to abolish all taxes on

industry and to increase the tax on land, exclusive of improvements. It desires a postal telegraph and State railroads; the prohibition of the employment of children, and of competition with convict labor; reduction of the hours of labor; prevention of the abuse of conspiracy laws; simplification of legal procedure; and a system of elections relieving "the candidates for public office from the heavy expenses now imposed upon them," thus preventing bribery and intimidation. This organization must not be confused with the Union Labor Party (*which see*).

United States Bank. (*See Bank of the United States.*)

United States Debt. (*See Debt of United States.*)

United States Flag. (*See Flag of the United States.*)

United States Military Academy at West Point, is an academy established for the purpose of training officers for the army. Every Representative and every Territorial Delegate is entitled to appoint a cadet, provided the appointment made by his predecessors has expired. Beside this, there are ten appointments at large and one for the District of Columbia, these latter being made by the President. Congressmen frequently offer the appointments as the reward of a competitive examination. The course continues for four years, and on graduation the cadets are commissioned second lieutenants in the army. The academy was established by Act of Congress of March 16, 1802. Subsequent laws have made it subject to the articles of war. The discipline is very strict. The superintendent and the instructors are all officers of the regular army. The present superintendent is Colonel John G. Parke.

United States Naval Academy was established in 1845 by act of Congress, for the purpose of educating young men as naval officers. One cadet is appointed by each member of the House of Representatives and by each Territorial Delegate, provided previous appointments for the district have expired; in addition, there is one cadet for the District of Columbia and ten at large.

These eleven are named by the President. Many Congressmen now adopt the plan of offering the cadetship to the successful candidate in a competitive examination. Candidates must be between fourteen and eighteen years of age, in good physical condition and actual residents of the district from which they are named. The course lasts six years, the last two being spent at sea. The advisibility of reducing the course to four years is being agitated at present, as, it is asserted, the cadets learn nothing new of any importance on the cruises. Vacancies in the marine corps, the line and the engineer service of the navy are filled by selecting the best graduates of the academy. The pay of a cadet is five hundred dollars a year. Cadets not assigned to service receive one year's sea pay and an honorable discharge. The outbreak of the Civil War caused the removal of the academy to Newport, Rhode Island, but in 1865 it was moved back to Annapolis. The academy is under the charge of an officer of the navy. Commander W. T. Sampson is the present superintendent.

United States Notes.—Same as Legal Tender Notes. (*See Currency.*)

United We Stand, Divided We Fall.—The motto of the State of Kentucky.

Unit Rule, is the practice followed in Democratic National Conventions, of allowing the majority of a State delegation to determine the vote of the State as a Unit. An attempt was made to introduce it into the Republican National Convention of 1880, in the interest of General Grant's nomination. He had previously served two terms. The State Conventions of New York, Pennsylvania, and Illinois had instructed their delegations (being the first, second and fourth in point of size), to vote for Grant. The attempt was unsuccessful. In the Democratic National Convention of 1884, a large minority of the New York delegation was opposed to the nomination of Cleveland, the choice of the majority, and an attempt was made to break the unit rule, for the purpose of defeating him. But this attempt was unsuccessful.

Unpleasantness, The Late, or Recent.—(*See Late Unpleasantness, The.*)

Unreconstructed, is an adjective applied to those Southerners that have not yet reconciled themselves to the results of the Civil War. The re-admission into the Union of the seceded States was called *Reconstruction.*

Utah, originally a part of the region acquired by the Mexican Session (*see Annexations IV.*), was organized as a Territory of the United States by Act of September 9, 1850. It included land which has since been cut off and added to Nevada, Wyoming and Colorado. The capital is Salt Lake City. The population in 1880 was 143,963, and in the last census (1890) 207,905. It is often called Deseret, "the land of the honey-bee." It would probably have been admitted as a State before this but for the preponderance of Mormons in its population. (*See Mormons; Governors; Legislature.*)

Ute War. (*See Indian Wars.*)

Valuation. (*See Foreign Valuation; Home Valuation.*)

Van Buren, Martin, was born at Kinderhook, New York, December 5, 1782, and died at the same place July 24, 1862. By profession he was a lawyer; he was State Senator from 1813 to 1820, and United States Senator from 1821 to 1828; in 1829 he was Governor of the State, and 1829 to 1831 Secretary of State of the United States, and Minister to England 1831 to 1832; the Senate rejected this last nomination and he returned home; from 1833 to 1837 he was Vice-President, and from 1837 to 1841, President. Although nominated for a second term he was defeated. In 1844 he was a candidate for nomination, but his party (the Democratic), named Polk. In 1848 he was nominated for President by the Free Soil Party, and his candidacy drew sufficient votes from Cass, the Democratic nominee, to defeat him. As a politician Van Buren was one of the shrewdest of his time, and an excellent party manager. He and his followers were the first to bring to Washington the crafty methods of New York politics, of which the present party machines are the outgrowth. He was

Jackson's choice as the latter's successor, and belonged to the Barnburner faction of his party. The most important events of his administration were the panic of 1837 and the Canadian Rebellion.

Vermont was originally part of the colony of New York, though also claimed by New Hampshire. A convention declared it independent of both of these in 1777. Its separate existence was not formally admitted by New York till 1790. By act of Congress of February 18, 1791, to take effect on the following 4th of March, Vermont was admitted to the Union—the first State after the original thirteen. The capital is Montpelier. The population in 1880 was 332,286, and in the last, 1890, census 332,422. Vermont has two representatives in Congress and four electoral votes, and is heavily Republican in politics. Its name is of French origin, and means "green mountain;" popularly it is known as the Green Mountain State. (*See Governors; Legislatures.*)

Veto.—A veto is the act by which the executive refuses his concurrence in a measure of the legislative body with which he is associated and thus prevents its becoming a law. The power of veto is generally given to mayors of cities and to Governors of States, the latter sometimes acting in conjunction with other officials. The veto may be overriden by a vote of the legislative body, in most of the States a two-thirds vote being necessary for that purpose, while in the others a three-fifths or even a simple majority vote is sufficient. Only four of the States, namely, Rhode Island, Delaware, North Carolina, and Ohio, have refused to give the executive the power to veto. The right to veto acts of Congress is vested by Article 1, section 7, of the Constitution, in the President alone. He is required to sign every bill or return it to the house of Congress in which it originated, with his objections. The latter act constitutes a veto, and if two-thirds of each house pass the bill again it becomes a law notwithstanding the veto. If the President fails to return the bill within ten days (Sundays excepted) it becomes a law, as if he had signed it, unless "Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a

law." If, therefore, Congress adjourn within ten days after the passage of a bill and the President has refrained from acting on the bill, it does not become a law; the disposal of a bill in this way, when the President does not choose to veto it formally, is termed a "pocket veto," a term which seems first to have been applied by the Whigs to the disposition in this way of two internal improvement bills by Jackson. The earlier Presidents of the United States seldom exercised the veto power. Up to Jackson's administration it had been used but nine times—twice by Washington, six times by Madison and once by Monroe. Jackson vetoed nine bills, and after him the exercise of the right became more frequent. Up to Johnson's administration no bill had been passed over a veto, but now a large majority in each house was opposed to the President's policy; Johnson constantly vetoed bills which were usually re-passed by the necessary two-thirds vote and became laws in spite of him. Hayes' administration shows a large number of vetoes, including those of a bill to restrict Chinese immigration and several appropriation bills with riders attached; but since 1869 Cleveland has vetoed the largest number of bills, more than all the previous Presidents collectively, but the greater number of these were private pension bills.

Vigilance Committee.—Among those who hastened to California after the discovery of gold in 1849 were many lawless characters, who soon caused a reign of terror. The Territory became a State in 1850, but the laws seemed powerless to restrain the commission of crime. To alter this condition of affairs large numbers of the best citizens, irrespective of party, banded together in San Francisco and other places in 1851, under the name of vigilance committees, took the law into their own hands, and by their vigorous actions gradually restored the country to a safe and peaceable state. In 1856 they were again forced to administer the law. They held trials and administered justice as seemed to them right. In other parts of the United States vigilance committees have been organized at different times as temporary measures of necessity, or to punish particular crimes, but their actions have often

been more entitled to the name of lynch law than those of the California vigilance committee.

Vice-President of the United States, is the officer that succeeds the President in case of the latter's removal, "death, resignation or inability." His salary is $8,000. The Vice-President is president of the Senate, but has a vote only in case of a tie. Originally each presidential elector voted for two persons, and the person receiving the highest vote was elected President, he receiving the next highest, vice-president. (Constitution, Article 2, section 1.) The Twelfth Amendment changed the method of election, separate votes now being cast for President and Vice-President. When the Vice-President is absent or performing the duties of the President, a president *pro tempore* of the Senate is chosen. Under the former law, in case of inability to serve of both President and Vice-President, the duties of the office devolved upon this officer; accordingly to prepare for all emergencies it was customary toward the end of a session of Congress for the Vice-President to withdraw and a president *pro tempore* to be elected. For the present law on that subject *see Presidential Succession.* Below is a list of the Vice-Presidents of the United States:

NAME.	STATE.	TERM.
John Adams	Massachusetts	1789—1797
Thomas Jefferson	Virginia	1797—1801
Aaron Burr	New York	1801—1805
George Clinton*	New York	1805—1812
Elbridge Gerry*	Massachusetts	1813—1814
Daniel D. Tompkins	New York	1817—1825
John C. Calhoun†	South Carolina	1825—1832
Martin Van Buren	New York	1833—1837
Richard M. Johnson	Kentucky	1837—1841
John Tyler*	Virginia	1841—1841
George M. Dallas	Pennsylvania	1845—1849
Millard Fillmore‡	New York	1849—1850
William R. King*	Alabama	1853—1853
John C. Breckinridge	Kentucky	1857—1861
Hannibal Hamlin	Maine	1861—1865
Andrew Johnson‡	Tennessee	1865—1865
Schuyler Colfax	Indiana	1869—1873
Henry Wilson	Massachusetts	1873—1875
William A. Wheeler	New York	1877—1881
Chester A. Arthur‡	New York	1881—1881
Thomas A. Hendricks*	Indiana	1885—1885
Levi P. Morton	New York	1889—....

*Died in office. †Resigned.
‡Became President by death of the incumbent.

PRESIDENTS PRO TEMPORE OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE:

CONGRESS.	YEARS.	NAME.	STATE.
1—2	1789—1792	John Langdon	New Hampshire.
2	1792—1792	Richard H. Lee.	Virginia.
2—3	1792—1794	John Langdon	New Hampshire.
3	1794—1795	Ralph Izard	South Carolina.
3—4	1795—1796	Henry Tazewell.	Virginia.
4	1796—1797	Samuel Livermore	New Hampshire.
4—5	1797—1797	William Bingham	Pennsylvania.
5	1797—1797	William Bradford	Rhode Island.
5	1797—1798	Jacob Read	South Carolina.
5	1798—1798	Theodore Sedgwick	Massachusetts.
5	1798—1799	John Laurence	New York.
5	1799—1799	James Ross	Pennsylvania.
6	1799—1800	Samuel Livermore	New Hampshire.
6	1800—1800	Uriah Tracy	Connecticut.
6	1800—1801	John E. Howard	Maryland.
6	1801—1801	James Hillhouse.	Connecticut.
7	1801—1802	Abraham Baldwin	Georgia.
7	1802—1803	Stephen R. Bradley	Vermont.
8	1803—1804	John Brown	Kentucky.
8	1804—1805	Jesse Franklin	North Carolina.
8	1805—1805	Joseph Anderson	Tennessee.
9—10	1805—1808	Samuel Smith	Maryland.
10	1808—1809	Stephen R. Bradley	Vermont.
10—11	1809—1809	John Milledge	Georgia.
11	1809—1810	Andrew Gregg	Pennsylvania.
11	1810—1811	John Gaillard	South Carolina.
11—12	1811—1812	John Pope	Kentucky.
12—13	1812—1813	William H. Crawford	Georgia.
13	1813—1814	Joseph B. Varnum	Massachusetts.
13—15	1814—1818	John Gaillard	South Carolina.
15—16	1818—1819	James Barbour	Virginia.
16—19	1820—1826	John Gaillard	South Carolina.
19—20	1826—1828	Nathaniel Macon	North Carolina.
20—22	1828—1832	Samuel Smith	Maryland.
22	1832—1832	L. W. Tazewell	Virginia.
22—23	1832—1834	Hugh L. White	Tennessee.
23	1834—1835	George Poindexter	Mississippi.
24	1835—1836	John Tyler	Virginia.
24—26	1836—1841	William R. King	Alabama.
26—27	1841—1842	Samuel L. Southard	New Jersey.
27—29	1842—1846	W. P. Mangum	North Carolina.
29—30	1846—1849	D. R. Atchison	Missouri.
31—32	1850—1852	William R. King	Alabama.
32—33	1852—1854	D. R. Atchison	Missouri.
33—34	1854—1857	Jesse D. Bright	Indiana.
34	1857—1857	James M. Mason	Virginia.
35—36	1857—1861	Benjamin Fitzpatrick	Alabama.
36—38	1861—1864	Solomon Foot	Vermont.
38	1864—1865	Daniel Clark	New Hampshire
39	1865—1867	Lafayette S. Foster	Connecticut.
40	1867—1869	Benjamin F. Wade	Ohio.
41—42	1869—1873	Henry B. Anthony	Rhode Island.
43	1873—1875	M. H. Carpenter	Wisconsin.
44—45	1875—1879	Thomas W. Ferry	Michigan.
46	1879—1881	A. G. Thurman	Ohio.
47	1881—1881	Thomas F. Bayard	Delaware.
47	1881—1883	David Davis	Illinois.
48	1883—1885	George F. Edmunds	Vermont.
49	1885—1887	John Sherman	Ohio.
49—50	1887—1889	John J. Ingalls	Kansas.
51	1889—1891	John J. Ingalls	Kansas.
52	1891—	Charles F. Manderson	Nebraska

Vilas, William F., was born at Chelsea, Vermont, July 9, 1840. He graduated at the Wisconsin State University, to which State his family had moved, and also at the Albany Law School, Albany, New York. He raised a company in 1862, going to the war in command of it; reached the grade of lieutenant-colonel. In 1863 he resumed the practice of law in Wisconsin. He was law lecturer in the State University. In March, 1885, President Cleveland appointed him Postmaster-General. In December, 1887, he was made Secretary of the Interior.

Virginia was one of the original States of the Union. On April 17, 1861, a State convention passed an ordinance of secession which was ratified by a popular vote in May. By Act of January 26, 1870, the State was readmitted to the Union. The capital is Richmond. The population in 1880 was 1,512,565, and in the last census (1890) 1,655,980. Virginia is entitled to ten seats in the House of Representatives and twelve electoral votes. It is considered a Democratic State in national politics. It was named for Queen Elizabeth, the "Virgin Queen." Popularly it is called the Old Dominion, sometimes the Mother of Presidents, and occasionally the Mother of States. (*See Governors; Legislatures; West Virginia.*)

Virginia Dynasty is a name given to the group of Virginians that, at the beginning of this century, wielded an almost controlling influence in the affairs of the nation. (*See Virginia Influence.*)

Virginia Influence.—By this name is known the influence wielded by the State of Virginia, headed by Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Taylor, Tazewell, the Randolphs and others, from the adoption of the Constitution until about 1824. It arose largely from the unaminity of its people on national subjects, owing to a certain clannish feeling among them The lead taken by the State in opposition to Hamilton's view of the Constitution caused it to be regarded as the head of that opposition, and therefore of the Republican party. This Virginia Influence was a distinct factor in national politics. After John Adams, all the Presidents until John Quincy Adams, in 1825, were from Virginia.

Virginia Resolutions of 1798 were resolutions adopted in that year by Virginia. They were drawn up by Madison and were similar in import to the Kentucky Resolutions of 1798 (*which see*).

Virginius Case.—On October 31, 1873, the steamer Virginius was captured on the high seas, near Jamaica, by a Spanish vessel. The Virginius was sailing under the American flag, but was supposed to be carrying men and arms to aid insurgents in Cuba. Executions followed of the captain and several others. The United States demanded the surrender of the vessel and the survivors, and reparation for the insult to our flag. The vessel was surrendered in December, but sank on the voyage to New York. The prisoners were also liberated. Spain disclaimed any intention to insult us, and it was proven that the Virginius was not entitled to sail under our flag.

Vote, Presidential. (*See Presidential and Vice-Presidential Electoral Vote; Presidential Popular Vote.*)

Voters, Qualifications of. (*See Qualifications of Voters.*)

Voting in the Air.—This phrase was invented by William M. Evarts, of New York, during the presidential campaign of 1884, to characterize the action of those who intended to vote for St. John, the Prohibitionist candidate. St. John had no chance of election, and votes for him were considered, from the Republican standpoint, as thrown away.

Wade-Davis, Manifesto. (*See Davis-Wade Manifesto.*)

Wagon Boy.—Thomas Corwin, of Ohio, was so called because he had driven an army-wagon during the War of 1812.

Walker, General William (sometimes called "the gray-eyed man of destiny"), was born in Nashville, Tennessee in 1824, followed journalism in New Orleans and San Francisco, practiced law in California and then engaged in the expeditions an account of which will be found under the title *Filibusters*.

Walking Delegate.—In the trades-unions of today there is employed an official known as Walking Delegate. He is a species of inspector, carrying to the different branches of an organization the decrees of the central bureau and supervising their execution. One of his principal duties consists in discovering and reporting any instance of the employment of non-union men in institutions where union men are at work, the latter being forbidden to work with the former.

War, the, a Failure.—The Democratic party at its national convention in 1864 declared the Civil War a failure. (*See Anti-War Democrat.*) Previous to that time the Legislature of Illinois, that met January, 1863, had carried in the house resolutions condemning the war, and recommending the adoption by the federal government of measures leading to a peaceful settlement. These resolutions failed in the State Senate. Those that favored this solution of the national difficulties were known as "Peace with Dishonor" men.

War Democrats.—Those individuals that, Democrats before the Civil War, yet favored the prosecution of that contest and supported the Republican party during its continuance, were so called.

War Department.—One of the executive departments of the government; it was established by the Act of August 7, 1789, and with the departments of State and of the Treasury constituted the original departments. At its head is the Secretary of War; he is a member of the Cabinet; his salary is $8,000 per annum. The department has charge of all matters relating to war or to the army, including purchase and distribution of supplies and army transportation; it also has charge of the signal service and meteorological records and of the disbursement of river and harbor appropriations. The principal subordinates of the department are:

Adjutant-General.	Paymaster-General.
Inspector-General.	Chief of Engineers.
Quartermaster-General.	Chief of Ordnance.
Commissary-General.	Judge-Advocate-General.
Surgeon-General.	Chief Signal Officer.

The above are officers of the regular army, and receive

the pay and allowances of a brigadier-general. The Secretaries of War, from 1789 to date, are as follows:

NAME.	STATE.	TERM.
Henry Knox	Massachusetts	1789—1795
Timothy Pickering	Massachusetts	1795—1796
James McHenry	Maryland	1796—1800
Samuel Dexter	Massachusetts	1800—1801
Roger Griswold	Connecticut	1801—1801
Henry Dearborn	Massachusetts	1801—1809
William Eustis	Massachusetts	1809—1813
John Armstrong	New York	1813—1814
James Monroe	Virginia	1814—1815
William H. Crawford	Georgia	1815—1817
Isaac Shelby	Kentucky	1817—1817
George Graham	Virginia	1817—1817
John C. Calhoun	South Carolina	1817—1825
James Barbour	Virginia	1825—1828
Peter B. Porter	New York	1828—1829
John H. Eaton	Tennessee	1829—1831
Lewis Cass	Ohio	1831—1837
Joel R. Poinsett	South Carolina	1837—1841
John Bell	Tennessee	1841—1841
John McLean	Ohio	1841—1841
John C. Spencer	New York	1841—1843
James M. Porter	Pennsylvania	1843—1844
William Wilkins	Pennsylvania	1844—1845
William L. Marcey	New York	1845—1849
George W. Crawford	Georgia	1849—1850
Edward Bates	Missouri	1850—1850
Winfield Scott	Virginia	1850—1850
Charles M. Conrad	Louisiana	1850—1853
Jefferson Davis	Missouri	1853—1857
John B. Floyd	Virginia	1857—1861
Joseph Holt	Kentucky	1861—1861
Simon Cameron	Pennsylvania	1861—1862
*Edwin M. Stanton	Pennsylvania	1862—1867
U. S. Grant	Illinois	1867—1868
Lorenzo Thomas	Delaware	1868—1868
John M. Schofield	Illinois	1868—1869
John A. Rawlins	Illinois	1869—1869
William T. Sherman	Ohio	1869—1869
William W. Belknap	Iowa	1869—1876
Alphonso Taft	Ohio	1876—1876
James Donald Cameron	Pennsylvania	1876—1877
George W. McCrary	Iowa	1877—1879
Alexander Ramsey	Minnesota	1879—1881
Robert T. Lincoln	Illinois	1881—1885
William C. Endicott	Massachusetts	1885—1889
Redfield Proctor	Vermont	1889—1891
Stephen B. Elkins	West Virginia	1891—

*Suspended, August 12, 1867; reinstated, January 14, 1868.

War of 1812, sometimes called the second war for independence. In the early part of this century Euro-

pean nations did not admit the right of expatriation. Great Britain held that "once an Englishman always an Englishman," and maintained the rights of search and impressment. Many of our vessels were stopped on the high seas and searched; seamen claimed to be British subjects were taken from them and forced to serve in the British navy or imprisoned for refusing to serve. Several of our men-of-war were fired upon and compelled to give up seamen in their crews. The arrogance of Great Britain was further shown by her interference with our commerce under her paper blockades. She interfered with rights which our government claimed for our vessels as neutral ships. (*See Embargo Act.*) The Henry affair (*see Henry Documents*) also increased the bitter feeling of our people. For several years previous to the war England's action had been intolerable. The failure of the Non-Importation, Non-Intercourse and Embargo acts (*which see*) necessitated more vigorous measures. The Federalists were opposed to a war: the Republicans favored it. Madison, the Republican President, was personally not disposed to warlike measures, and it was asserted that he "could not be kicked into a war." Finally, however, the pressure from public and party became too strong for him. The Congress which assembled in December, 1811, was heartily disposed to resort to arms. It passed acts to increase the army, and appropriated large sums for the army and navy. Finally, on June 18, 1812, the President declared war against Great Britain. The Republican scheme of invading Canada was hardly a success, but brilliant victories were gained on the ocean, and by Jackson at New Orleans. During the war the Federalists continued to oppose the government's measures. (*See Hartford Convention.*) The war was ended by the Treaty of Ghent (*which see*). Its result practically was the end of the old Federalist party and renewed strength to the Republicans. The objects of the war, so far as English arrogance was concerned, were practically accomplished, though the terms of the treaty did not expressly negative the British claims.

War Power of the President is a term applied to the power of the President as Commander-in-chief of the army and navy (Constitution, Article 2, section 2). This power is great or small according to the emergency it is called upon to face. In serious emergencies it is almost despotic, being limited only by the power of Congress to withhold supplies. In time of peace it is entirely suspended. The Emancipation Proclamation was issued "as a fit and necessary measure of war" by the President as Commander-in-chief of the army and navy.

War, Secretary of. (*See War Department.*)

Wars of the United States.—The chief wars in which the United States have been engaged since the formation of the government, in 1789, are four in number, and are treated under the headings, *Barbary Pirates* (the Algerine War), *Civil War, Mexican War* and *War of* 1812. The most important conflicts with Indian tribes are discussed under *Indian Wars.* The Aroostook boundary disturbance is mentioned in the article *Northwest Boundary,* and the title *Canadian Rebellion* covers another slight difficulty on our northern frontier. (*See also Fenians.*) The irregular hostilities with France at the close of the last century are treated under *X. Y. Z. Mission.* For domestic difficulties, sometimes called "wars," see under appropriate headings, as *Border War, Buckshot War, Hot Water War,* etc.

War to the Knife and the Knife to the Hilt.—This sentiment was attributed to the Republicans by the Anti-War Democrats during the Civil War.

War With Tripoli. (*See Barbary Pirates.*)

Washington, City of. (*See Capital of the United States; District of Columbia.*)

Washington, George, the first President of the United States, was born in Westmoreland County, Virginia, February 22, 1832. He died at Mount Vernon, Virginia, December 14, 1799. He was of English descent. His education was obtained in the local schools. In his early days he was a land surveyor. He inherited considerable property from his father and from

his older brother. He distinguished himself during the French and Indian War, where he rose to the rank of Colonel and commander of the Virginian forces. After that war he lived quietly, managing his property and serving in the Virginia House of Burgesses, until sent to the Continental Congress in 1774. In 1759 he had married Martha Danbridge Custis, widow of John Parke Custis. On June 15, 1775, he was appointed by the Congress, Commander-in-Chief of the American forces engaged in the Revolution; this position he retained to the end of the war. Immediately after the war he resigned his commission and retired to Mount Vernon, whence he emerged as delegate to the Convention of 1787 (*which see*): of this he became the presiding officer. On the adoption of the Constitution framed by that Convention he was elected President of the United States, receiving the compliment, unparalleled in our history, of a unanimous vote. He was similarly elected for a second term. During his administration the government's finances were put in order and the Bank of the United States was established; Indian troubles on the frontiers were suppressed after two unsuccessful attempts; Jay's Treaty was concluded with England in the settlement of various matters in dispute, and the Whisky Insurrection in Pennsylvania was crushed. In 1797 he was once again called from Mount Vernon, whither he had withdrawn at the expiration of his term as President, to act as Commander-in-Chief of the Army, in a war then threatening with France. When the danger of a war had passed by he again retired to his home, where he died in 1799. With his countrymen his influence, drawn partly from his military fame and partly from his lofty character, was enormous, and it was always exerted for good. The adoption of the Constitution was in many quarters owing to his approval of it. As Commander-in-Chief of the Revolutionary Army he had refused to accept pay. As President, he professed adherence to no party or faction, although his leanings were toward the centralizing tendencies of Hamilton. Personally he was cold, dignified and aristocratic.

Washington Territory was admitted to the Union as a State by Act of Congress, November 11, 1889. It was part of the Louisiana purchase (*see Annexations I.*) and was for a time a part of Oregon. It was organized as a separate territory by Act of March 2, 1853. The northern boundary of this region was for a long time in dispute with Great Britain, but was settled in 1846. (*See Northwest Boundary.*) Washington has one seat in the House of Representatives and four electoral votes. The population according to the last census (1890) was 349,390. It was named in honor of George Washington. The Capital is Olympia.

Waterloo.—"A Waterloo" has come to be the synonym of a complete and irretrievable defeat. At Waterloo, a village of Belgium, on June 18, 1815, the English and Prussians, under the Duke of Wellington, completely routed Napoleon Bonaparte, who, with the French Army, had for years been maintaining a gigantic and successful struggle against many of the nations of Europe. By this defeat his power and prestige were hopelessly shattered.

Ways and Means, Committee of, is the most important of the standing committees of the House of Representatives. Its function is the ways and means of raising and collecting revenue; or, in other words, the general subject of government revenues; this includes the tariff and internal revenue, as well as the public debt and financial measures. Prior to 1865 the expenditure of the government was also within its scope. This is now in the hands of the Appropriations Committee. (*See Appropriations.*)

Webster, Daniel, was born at Salisbury, New Hampshire, January 18, 1782, and died at Marshfield, Massachusetts, October 24, 1852. He was a lawyer, and a graduate of Dartmouth. From 1813 to 1817 he represented New Hampshire in Congress as a Federalist, then removed to Boston, serving in Congress from Massachusetts from 1823 to 1827, in the Senate from 1827 to 1841, as Secretary of State from 1841 to 1843, again in the Senate from 1845 to 1850, and once more, from

1850 until his death, as Secretary of State. It is conceded that he was the foremost orator this country has ever possessed. His name is best known in connection with the Dartmouth College case (*which see*), and his debate with Senator Hayne on Foot's Resolution (*which see*). Although frequently mentioned as a candidate for the presidency he never attained even the formal nomination of his party, although in 1836 the Massachusetts electors cast their votes for him. In 1850 he made his famous Seventh of March speech, regarded by many as a final bid for the presidency. However that may be, he was not nominated, and died soon after.

We Have Been Unfortunate, but Not Disgraced.—On the 28th of March, 1814, during the War of 1812, Captain David Porter lay in the harbor of Valparaiso, Chili, in the United States frigate Essex. Notwithstanding the fact that he was in neutral waters he was attacked by two British vessels, the frigate Phœbe and the sloop-of-war Cherub. His vessel had been crippled by a storm, but he fought bravely, till nearly all his men were disabled, and then struck his colors. He reported to the government, "We have been unfortunate, but not disgraced."

We Have Lived Long, but This is the Noblest Work of Our Whole Lives.—This remark was made by Robert R. Livingston after the Louisiana purchase in 1803. (*See Annexations I.*)

We Have Met the Enemy and They Are Ours.—During the War of 1812 the control of Lake Erie became necessary to the Americans for an aggressive movement on Canada. To oppose the British squadron, under Commodore Barclay, of six vessels carrying sixty-three guns in all, Commodore Oliver H. Perry gathered nine vessels mounting in all fifty-four guns. On the 10th of September, 1813, he attacked the British, fought a desperate battle, in the course of which he performed the daring feat of transferring his flag from the Lawrence, which was badly injured, to the Niagara, and defeated the enemy. To General Harrison, who was anxiously awaiting on shore the event of the battle, he sent the

following dispatch: "We have met the enemy and they are ours; two ships, two brigs, one schooner and one sloop." This victory was celebrated in a rude song of the day, as follows:

"The tenth of September
Let us all remember,
As long as the world on its axis goes round;
Our tars and marines
On Lake Erie were seen
To make the proud flag of Great Britain come down."

Well-Born, The.—A term of contempt applied to the Federalists. The term was used by John Adams during the discussion preceding the adoption of the Constitution. "The rich, the well-born and the able will," wrote he, "acquire an influence among the people that will soon be too much for simple honesty and plain sense in a House of Representatives."

We Love Him for the Enemies that He Has Made.—This sentence was uttered by Edward S. Bragg, of Wisconsin, in the Democratic National Convention of 1884, in a speech urging the nomination of Grover Cleveland for President. The reference was to the minority of the New York delegation, which was opposed to Cleveland's nomination, and which had attempted to abolish the Unit Rule for the purpose of compassing his defeat. Cleveland was nominated.

Western Reserve. (*See Territories.*)

West Florida. (*See Annexations II.*)

West Point and Military Academy. (*See United States Military Academy at West Point.*)

West Virginia was once a part of Virginia, but its people did not sympathize with the pro-slavery and secession sentiments of the eastern portion of the State, and on the ratification of the ordinance of secession (*see Virginia*), a convention at Wheeling declared it null and void. A government was formed, claiming to be the government of Virginia, which gave its consent to the erection of a new State, and West Virginia was thus admitted to the Union by Act of December 31, 1862, which took effect June 19, 1863. The capital is Charleston. The population in 1880 was 618,457 and in

the last census (1890) 762,704. West Virginia is entitled to four seats in the House of Representatives and six electoral votes. It is considered a Democratic State. The name first proposed for the State was Kanawha. Popularly it is called the Pan-Handle State. (*See Governors; Legislatures.*)

Westward the Course of Empire Takes Its Way.—The following lines are from a poem entitled "On the Prospect of Planting Arts and Learning in America," written in the first half of the last century by Bishop Berkeley, an English philosopher:

> "Westward the course of empire takes its way;
> The four first acts already past,
> A fifth shall close the drama with the day;
> Time's noblest offspring is the last."

The epigraph to Bancroft's "History of the United States" made the first line of the above read as follows:

> "Westward the star of empire takes its way."

Wets.—A term used chiefly, if not exclusively, in Georgia and applied to the Anti-Prohibitionists. Opposed to "Drys."

Wheeler, William A., was born at Malone, New York, June 30, 1819, where he died June 4, 1887. He was admitted to the bar and served in the State Legislature. He was in Congress from 1861 to 1877 as a Republican. He was elected Vice-President under Hayes.

Whig Party.—The opposition to Andrew Jackson took the form of the National Republican party on the part of those differing from him on economic principles; to these were added those that had upheld Nullification, and factious Democrats in some of the Southern States, notably in Georgia, Alabama and Tennessee, in the two latter States, headed by Hugh L. White. James Watson Webb, of the New York *Courier and Enquirer*, suggested the name of Whig for this combination, as indicating opposition to "executive usurpation," a meaning it was asserted to have had in England, and during the Revolution in America. Under this name were ulti-

mately included the National Republicans and the Southern factions; the Nullifiers were never a portion of them; they formed a separate pro-slavery faction in the Democratic party. Harrison was the first nominee of the party and he was indorsed by numerous anti-Masonic and other conventions. Three other candidates were placed in nomination beside the Democratic nominee, Van Buren, who was elected. In 1840 Harrison, a military and anti-Masonic man, was nominated; as Vice-President, Tyler, one of the Southern wing, was named. This combination received an overwhelmingly large electoral vote; the campaign had been a vigorous one, based on Harrison's military services, to the cry of "Tippecanoe and Tyler, too." The Whigs had a small majority, also, in both Houses. One month after his inauguration Harrison died. Soon after his accession Tyler broke with his party, the occasion being the veto by him of a National Bank Bill. The first platform of the party adopted in 1844 meant anything or nothing. Clay was nominated, and his defeat, to a great extent, was owing to the action of the Liberty party. The question of the annexation of Texas foreshadowed the importance that slavery was soon to assume. This topic it was the constant effort of the Northern Whigs to keep out of politics. Opposition to slavery meant rupture with the Southern Whigs, who were first pro-slavery and only then Whigs; advocacy of it meant the displeasure of Northern constituents. The Wilmot Proviso was accordingly supported by Northern Whigs, and opposed by the Southerners. Taylor was the nominee in 1848; no platform was adopted. He was elected largely on his military reputation. The Compromise of 1850 and all other measures affecting slavery found the Southern Whigs acting with the Democrats and against their Northern brothers in the party. These latter made every effort to keep the subject down, and every new piece of legislation on the subject was declared by them to be a "finality." In 1852 the platform contained a plank to that effect, and General Winfield Scott was named for President. Scott was completely defeated. The Southern

Whigs were now practically apart from the party, and many of them soon became so in name also. The Whig party was broken up. A part of it joined the ranks of the American party, but ultimately its Northern elements were swallowed up in the Republican party; the Southern elements joined the Democratic party, while the old Whig desire of keeping slavery out of politics was visible in the Constitutional Union party, composed of Whig remnants in the border States.

Whisky Insurrection.—This was a revolt in Western Pennsylvania, occasioned by the passage of the excise law of March 3, 1791. Laws of this kind had always been odious, and they were especially so to this community, the greater part of whose grain was converted into whisky. The tax was suggested by Hamilton for the purpose of exerting the federal power of direct taxation, and also, as some authorities assert, for the purpose of raising an insurrection of small proportions and of having the federal power exerted in crushing it. Hamilton saw that the Union could not be a success unless the authority of the federal government was recognized, and he thought that a small disturbance speedily suppressed might check a tendency to disunion and separation, which, once fairly intrenched, would prove the end of the government. His forecast was correct. The suppression was practically bloodless; but two persons were killed, and these in brawls with the soldiers. Moreover, the prompt exercise of federal authority showed the inherent strength and vitality of the federal government. Hamilton's purpose was not, of course, avowed—not even known. The best known leader in this insurrection was a man named Bradford, but William Findley, a member of Congress, and Albert Gallatin were also concerned in it. The first meeting to oppose the measure was held July 27th. This meeting was peaceful, but disorders followed. Any person taking office under the law was declared a public enemy, and in one case a revenue officer was tarred and feathered. The opposition continued to increase, and in May, 1792, Congress empowered the President to use

militia in suppressing disorders within a State. About this time the tax was also reduced. September 15th a proclamation was issued warning the people to abandon their unlawful combinations. The disturbances had not as yet come to a head. The agitation continued throughout 1793 and 1794. Secret societies were organized to oppose the tax. Under the law only federal courts had jurisdiction of offenses against it, and this necessitated the transportation of the accused to Philadelphia, a long journey in those days. In June, 1794, this just cause of complaint was removed by giving the State courts concurrent jurisdiction in excise offenses. The issue, May 31st, in Philadelphia, of fifty writs against various western people charged with connection with the disturbances, brought the insurrection to a head. The marshal serving the warrants was seized and made to swear that he would serve no more of them. A meeting of 7,000 armed men was held. Those opposed to these proceedings were intimidated, and preparations for armed defence against the United States were made. The federal government acted promptly. A proclamation ordered the insurgents to disperse. A requisition for 15,000 militia was made on the Governors of New Jersey, Virginia and Maryland. Meanwhile commissioners were sent ahead to offer amnesty to those that would submit. Their mission was a failure, and on September 25th another proclamation was issued by the President, in which he gave notice of the advance of the troops. President Washington accompanied them a part of the way; Hamilton remained with them throughout. Several meetings were now held declaring submission, but they were not regarded as representative, and the troops continued to advance. On their arrival at the scene of the disorders, time was given for submission under the President's proclamation, and all those not submitting were arrested. The violent leaders, including Bradford, had fled; Gallatin was among those that had all along counseled submission. The insurrection was suppressed; all but about 2,500 of the troops returned home; these remained encamped in the region throughout the winter.

Whisky Ring is a name given to a vast conspiracy, originating in about the year 1873, for the purpose of defrauding the government in the collection of its tax on distilled spirits. The conspiracy included distillers, dealers, United States collectors, gaugers and many other persons. It extended from St. Louis, its headquarters, to Chicago, Milwaukee, Peoria, Cincinnati and New Orleans. It had an agent in Washington. The method of defrauding was by the secret shipment of whisky which was reported as stored. Suspicion was first aroused in 1874 by a discrepancy discovered between the returns of shipments of the Merchants' Exchange, of St. Louis, and those of the revenue officers. To Benjamin H. Bristow, Secretary of the Treasury, is due the credit of unearthing this gigantic fraud. The influence of the ring made itself felt in the highest places, and every effort against it was for a time thwarted. Finally, after careful secret examinations, a general seizure in three cities was made May 10, 1875. Property aggregating $3,500,000 in value was seized, and 238 persons were indicted. When the papers in these cases were laid before President Grant, he indorsed one of them with the injunction, "Let no guilty man escape." O. E. Babcock, President Grant's private secretary was implicated, but though acquitted, his guilt was generally conceded. No charge was ever made implicating Grant, but his tenacity in supporting his friends, even when their guilt was evident to others, made it easy for the ring to put many obstacles in Bristow's way. In one case, even, documents were tampered with. Many convictions were obtained, among others that of the chief clerk of the Treasury, Avery. In 1876 Bristow turned his attention to a whisky ring on the Pacific coast. As a consequence the Senator from that State demanded the removal of several special Treasury agents employed in San Francisco. The Secretary refused. An appeal to the President caused him to take a stand against Bristow, and the latter resigned. The ring, however, was dead.

White House.—The residence of the President in

Washington is built of freestone and painted white, and for this reason is called the "White House."

White League.—A name sometimes applied to the *Ku-Klux Klan.*

Whitewash.—When a corrupt public servant desires to obtain an official statement exonerating him from acts charged against him, it is a common method for his friends to secure the appointment of a legislative committee of investigation, taking care to have the committee so constituted as to insure a report clearing him from blame. This proceeding is known as whitewashing.

Whitney, William C., was born at Conway, Massachusetts, July 15, 1841. He studied at Yale and Harvard, and was admitted to the bar in New York City, where he began the practice of law. In 1872, he was defeated for the office of District Attorney; he was in 1875 appointed Corporation Counsel; in 1882 he resigned. In March, 1885, President Cleveland appointed him Secretary of the Navy.

Wigwam. (*See Tammany.*)

Wilmot Proviso.—In 1846 a bill was introduced into Congress placing about $2,000,000 at the disposal of the President for the purpose of enabling him to make a treaty with Mexico (with which we were then at war), paying her that sum, and in return acquiring a considerable tract of territory. To this measure David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, moved a proviso prohibiting slavery in any territory that we might acquire from Mexico. Thus amended, the bill was passed by the House and sent to the Senate during the last hours of the session. In the Senate the debate on a motion to strike out the proviso lasted to the hour of adjournment, and so the bill died. In 1848 the proviso was moved in the House as an independent resolution, but a motion that it lie on the table prevailed (105 to 93). When first introduced the proviso seemed to have a good chance of passing, but during the election of 1846 the Southern Democrats were forced by public opinion to determined opposition to it; the Northern Democrats

favored the proviso, and at the same time annexation. In this dilemma the doctrine of "popular" or "squatter" sovereignty was devised; it was, in effect, to let the people of a territory determine the question of slavery for themselves, and it came as a relief to Northern Democrats by enabling them consistently to oppose the Wilmot Proviso.

Wilson, Henry, was born at Framingham, New Hampshire, February 16, 1812, and died in Washington, November 22, 1875. In 1830 his name was changed from Jeremiah Jones Colbath to Henry Wilson, by Act of Legislature. In politics he was an Anti-slavery Whig, serving in the Legislature in that capacity; he then joined the Free-soil, the American, and ultimately the Republican Party. He was Vice-president from 1873 until his death.

Wire Pulling is a political phrase. It is applied to the activity of politicians in securing votes and making other preparations necessary to the success of a candidate or measure.

Wisconsin was once a part of the Northwest Territory, and afterwards was successively a part of Indiana, Illinois and Michigan territories. In 1836 the territory of Wisconsin was formed, which, two years later, was reduced to the size of the present State of the same name, and was thus admitted to the Union May 29, 1848. The capital is Madison. The population in 1880 was 1,315,497, and in the last census (1890) 1,616,880. Wisconsin sends nine members to the House of Representatives, and has eleven electoral votes. It is a Republican State in national politics. The State is named after its principal river, which in the Indian tongue is said to mean, "wild rushing river." Popularly it is known as the Badger State. (*See Governors; Legislatures.*)

With Malice Toward None, with Charity for All.—These phrases occurred in Lincoln's address at his second inauguration. (*See Lincoln, Abraham.*)

Wizard of Kinderhook.—Martin Van Buren, who was born at Kinderhook, New York, was often called by his contemporaries the Wizard of Kinderhook because of his ability and astuteness in politics.

Woman's Rights. (*See Woman Suffrage.*)

Woman Suffrage. — The gradual removal of restrictions on the suffrage in the States has naturally brought forward the question why women should be deprived of this privilege. As early as 1790 the question had been asked in France. Under New Jersey's constitution of 1776 an act had indeed been passed by that State in 1793 imposing certain restrictions on voters, but imposing them equally on both sexes. The act was, however, repealed in 1807. The subject was brought into prominence in 1848 by the first woman's rights convention held in this country. The convention met at Seneca Falls, New York, July 19, 1848. The agitation of the subject of slavery and the incidental discussion of the natural rights of man had as their logical consequence the demand, on the part of some women, of a privilege exercised in many cases by persons far below them in intelligence and education. They assert that many of their number pay taxes, that all are interested in good government, and that it is unjust for women of intelligence to be deprived of a vote while ignorant men have a voice in the government. They assert that their influence will have a purifying effect on politics. They demand that any restrictions on the suffrage may apply equally to both sexes. It is but just to add that many women of education are opposed to the extension of the suffrage to women. On the other hand, it is objected that suffrage cannot be demanded as a right, but it is a privilege granted by the State as expediency may direct; that the community is best served by a division of labor which relegates women to the family exclusively; that her interests are sufficiently protected by representation as at present constituted, and that her presence would have no influence for good. In October, 1850, the first national woman's rights convention was held at Worcester, Massachusetts. Since then the subject has been constantly agitated, and large strides in advance have been made. In 1866 a petition on this subject was laid before Congress by the American Equal Rights Association. It was the first of its kind pre-

sented to that body. In 1870 the Republican State Convention of Massachusetts admitted Lucy Stone and Mary A. Livermore as delegates. The Republican National Conventions of 1872 and 1876 resolved that "the honest demands" of this "class of citizens for additional rights . . . should be treated with respectful consideration." Since 1872 the Prohibition party has embodied a demand for woman suffrage in every platform. The Greenback national platform of 1884 favored the submission to the people of a woman suffrage amendment to the Constitution. The Equal Rights party in 1884 nominated Mrs. Belva A. Lockwood for the presidency. The votes received by the ticket are among those classed as "scattering," and amounted to about 2,500. Women have voted on the same terms with men in Wyoming since 1870, and when the territory was admitted to the Union a provision was inserted in the constitution securing them suffrage. In Kansas full municipal suffrage has been granted to women, and in the following States they vote at school elections under certain conditions as to property, marriage, etc. Colorado, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Oregon, Vermont, Wisconsin, Delaware, Idaho, Illinois, North Dakota, South Dakota, Texas, Washington and Montana, and in the territories of Arizona and Oklahoma. In Arkansas and Missouri women vote (by petition) on the sale of liquor. Full suffrage was granted to women in Utah and in Washington, while a territory. In the former they were excluded by the Edmunds law and in the latter, through a technical informality in the construction of the act. Thus Wyoming remains as the only instance in this country of a complete equality of the sexes in the matter of suffrage. (*See Suffrage.*)

Wooden Gods of Sedition.—A name of derision in 1798 for the *Liberty Poles.*

Woolly Heads. (*See Conscience Whigs.*)

Workers, Political. (*See Boys, The.*)

Wyoming.—The larger part of Wyoming was ac-

quired by the Louisiana purchase (*see Annexations I.*), but the southwestern portion was included in the Mexican cession (*see Annexations IV.*) of 1848. It was organized as a separate territory of the United States by Act of July 25, 1868, and was admitted to the Union as a State by Act of July 11, 1890. Wyoming has one seat in the House of Representatives, and three electoral votes. The population according to the census of 1890 was 60,705. The capital is Cheyenne.

X. Y. Z. Mission.—During the Revolution the United States secured the valuable aid of France by treaties in 1778. In 1789 monarchy was overthrown in France, and that nation soon found herself at war with England and other European nations. She desired the United States as an ally, and Genet (*see Genet, Citizen,*) was sent to accomplish her purpose. His mission failed, Washington persisted firmly in preserving our neutrality, and Jay's Treaty (*which see*) was concluded with England. The course of our government angered France. In 1797 the directory, which then governed that country, gave permission to the French navy to assail our vessels. Following a policy of conciliation, in spite of French insults to our minister and the threat to our commerce, President Adams called a special session of Congress in May, 1797, and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, John Marshall and Elbridge Gerry were sent to France to arrange matters. In the spring of the next year the President submitted to Congress dispatches that had been received from these commissioners. They had been kept waiting by Talleyrand, the minister of foreign affairs, and had been approached by three unofficial persons with what was in effect a demand for a bribe and a loan to the directory before any arrangement could be concluded with the United States. In the dispatches the names of these three persons were indicated merely by the letters X., Y. and Z., and hence the whole affair came to be termed the X. Y. Z. Mission. To these demands our representatives returned a decided refusal. It is said that Pinckney made use of the phrase, "Millions for defense, but not one cent for

tribute." The answer as recorded, however, was, "No, no, no; not a sixpence." About the time when these dispatches were submitted to Congress, Pinckney and Marshall were ordered to leave France, and Gerry was afterward recalled by our government. A warlike feeling instantly sprung up in the United States. The Federalists, with Adams as leader, desired to defend by force, if necessary, their policy of keeping this country from entangling foreign alliances, and desired to resent French insults. The Democrats (then called Republicans) had always favored an alliance with France and had opposed the creation of a navy for the United States. Now, however, the popular pressure could not be withstood. Bills were passed for increasing the navy and separating it from the War Department (April 30, 1798). Provision was made for a national loan and the imposition of a direct tax. The President was authorized to increase the army in case of a foreign war within three years, and soon Washington was called to be commander-in-chief of the army and Alexander Hamilton was selected as the active commander. On July 9, 1798, Congress declared the treaties with France no longer binding, and authorized our war vessels and privateers to capture armed French vessels. A few naval engagements occurred, but no event of great importance. The effect of our warlike feeling and preparations on France was excellent. American prisoners were released and the embargo which had been declared was raised on American ships. Talleyrand now hinted to our Minister to Holland, William Vans Murray, that he was willing to receive another American Minister. Adams accordingly appointed Murray in February, 1799, and soon joined with him Oliver Ellsworth and William R. Davis. The President's action created much stir politically, as he was considered to have become subservient to France and to have changed the former attitude of himself and the Federal party. It was some months after their appointment that our envoys arrived in Paris. Napoleon was then at the head of the government as First Consul, and was favorably inclined toward the United

States. French commissioners were appointed, and on September 30, 1800, a friendly convention was signed. Both countries ratified it, and it was declared in force December 21, 1801. For a while the safety of our commerce was thus secured. (*See Embargo Act.*)

Yankee.—There are several conflicting theories concerning the derivation of the word Yankee. The most probable is that it came from a corrupt pronunciation by the Indians of the word English, or its French form, *Anglais.* The term Yankee was originally applied only to natives of the New England States, but foreigners have extended it to all natives of the United States, and during the Civil War the Southerners used it as a term of reproach for all inhabitants of the North.

Yazoo Fraud.—About the time of the formation of the United States, Georgia owned or claimed the greater part of the territory between her present limits and the Mississippi River. In 1789 she sold for about $200,000 some ten or fifteen million acres of this land to the South Carolina Yazoo Company, the Virginia Yazoo Company, and the Tennessee Company. Difficulties arose, however, which prevented the sales from being consummated. In 1795 what was distinctly known as the "Yazoo fraud" occurred. The purchasers, generally known as the Yazoo Companies, from their operations in the Yazoo district, having been reorganized, Georgia in that year sold to them for $500,000 the larger part of her western territory, comprising about 35,000,000 acres, which now forms the States of Alabama and Mississippi. Such a transaction was of national interest, and Washington sent a message to Congress concerning it. Charges were made that the necessary legislation had been secured by extensive bribery, and James Jackson, then Georgia's representative in the Senate, resigned from that body, stood for a seat in the State Legislature, was elected, and, as the exponent of the demand of the people, was enabled to repeal the objectionable act and expunge it from the records. In 1802 Georgia ceded all the territory west of her present boundary to the Federal Government. The purchasers now demanded their

rights from the United States, and Jefferson's Cabinet expressed the opinion that it would be "expedient" to make a reasonable compromise with them, while not recognizing their claims as a matter of right. The opponents of the administration raised a great clamor and did not hesitate to charge that improper influences had moved Jefferson and his advisers. The question came before Congress, some of whose members were personally interested in the matter, but, largely because of the vehement opposition made by John Randolph of Virginia, the relief measure was defeated by a large majority. The purchasers afterward obtained a favorable verdict from the Supreme Court, and Congress in 1814 appropriated $8,000,000 in scrip, payable from the proceeds of Mississippi lands, to satisfy the claimants. Much of this money, however, went to speculators, to whom discouraged claimants had transferred their interests.

Young Hickory.—Andrew Jackson was called Old Hickory. (*See that title.*) James K. Polk was born in the same State as Jackson, North Carolina, and settled in the same State, Tennessee; moreover, a certain resemblance in their political feelings led to his being called **Young Hickory.**

APPENDIX.

PARTY PLATFORMS.

1896.

DEMOCRATIC, REPUBLICAN, PROHIBITION, PEOPLE'S AND SILVER.

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM.

Adopted at Chicago, July 9, 1896.

We, the Democrats of the United States in National Convention assembled, do reaffirm our allegiance to those great essential principles of justice and liberty upon which our institutions are founded, and which the Democratic party has advocated from Jefferson's time to our own—freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of conscience, the preservation of personal rights, the equality of all citizens before the law, and the faithful observance of constitutional limitations.

During all these years the Democratic party has resisted the tendency of selfish interests to the centralization of governmental power, and steadfastly maintained the integrity of the dual scheme of government established by the founders of this republic of republics. Under its guidance and teachings the great principle of local self-government has found its best expression in the maintenance of the rights of the States and in its assertion of the necessity of confining the general Government to the exercise of powers granted by the Constitution of the United States.

The Constitution of the United States guarantees to every citizen the rights of civil and religious liberty. The Democratic party has always been the exponent of political liberty and religious freedom, and it renews its obligations and reaffirms its devotion to these fundamental principles of the Constitution.

Recognizing that the money question is paramount to all others at this time, we invite attention to the fact that the Constitution

names silver and gold together as the money metals of the United States, and that the first coinage law passed by Congress under the Constitution made the silver dollar the money unit, and admitted gold to free coinage at a ratio based upon the silver dollar unit.

We declare that the act of 1873 demonetizing silver without the knowledge or approval of the American people has resulted in the appreciation of gold, and a corresponding fall in the prices of commodities produced by the people; a heavy increase in the burden of taxation and of all debts, public and private, the enrichment of the money-lending class at home and abroad, the prostration of industry, and impoverishment of the people.

We are unalterably opposed to monometallism, which has locked fast the prosperity of an industrial people in the paralysis of hard times. Gold monometallism is a British policy, and its adoption has brought other nations into financial servitude to London. It is not only un-American, but anti-American, and it can be fastened on the United States only by the stifling of that spirit and love of liberty which proclaimed our political independence in 1776 and won it in the war of the Revolution.

We demand the free and unlimited coinage of both silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation. We demand that the standard silver dollar shall be a full legal tender, equally with gold for all debts, public and private, and we favor such legislation as will prevent for the future the demonetization of any kind of legal-tender money by private contract.

We are opposed to the policy and practice of surrendering to the holders of the obligations of the United States the option reserved by law to the Government of redeeming such obligations in either silver coin or gold coin.

We are opposed to the issuing of interest-bearing bonds of the United States in time of peace, and condemn the trafficking with banking syndicates, which, in exchange for bonds and at an enormous profit to themselves, supply the Federal Treasury with gold to maintain the policy of gold monometallism.

Congress alone has the power to coin and issue money, and President Jackson declared that this power could not be delegated to corporations or individuals. We therefore denounce the issuance of notes intended to circulate as money by national banks as in derogation of the Constitution, and we demand that all paper which is made a legal tender for public and private debts or which is receivable for duties to the United States shall be issued by the Government of the United States and shall be redeemable in coin.

We hold that tariff duties should be levied for purposes of revenue, such duties to be so adjusted as to operate equally throughout the country and not discriminate between class or section, and that taxation should be limited by the needs of the Government honestly and economically administered.

We denounce as disturbing to business the Republican threat

to restore the McKinley law, which has twice been condemned by the people in national elections, and which, enacted under the false plea of protection to home industry, proved a prolific breeder of trusts and monopolies, enriched the few at the expense of the many, restricted trade, and deprived the producers of the great American staples of access to their natural markets.

Until the money question is settled we are opposed to any agitation for further changes in our tariff laws, except such as are necessary to meet the deficit in revenue caused by the adverse decision of the Supreme Court on the income tax. But for this decision by the Supreme Court there would be no deficit in the revenue under the law passed by a Democratic Congress in strict pursuance of the uniform decisions of that court for nearly one hundred years, that court having in that decision sustained constitutional objections to its enactment which had previously been overruled by the ablest judges who have ever sat on that bench. We declare that it is the duty of Congress to use all the constitutional power which remains after that decision, or which may come from its reversal by the court as it may hereafter be constituted, so that the burdens of taxation may be equally and impartially laid, to the end that wealth may bear its due proportion of the expenses of the Government.

We hold that the most efficient way of protecting American labor is to prevent the importation of foreign pauper labor to compete with it in the home market, and that the value of the home market to our American farmers and artisans is greatly reduced by a vicious monetary system which depresses the prices of their products below the cost of production, and thus deprives them of the means of purchasing the products of our home manufactories, and, as labor creates the wealth of the country, we demand the passage of such laws as may be necessary to protect it in all its rights.

We are in favor of the arbitration of differences between employers engaged in inter-State commerce and their employees, and recommend such legislation as is necessary to carry out this principle.

The absorption of wealth by the few, the consolidation of our leading railroad systems, and the formation of trusts and pools require a stricter control by the Federal Government of those arteries of commerce. We demand the enlargement of the powers of the Inter-State Commerce Commission and such restrictions and guarantees in the control of railroads as will protect the people from robbery and oppression.

We denounce the profligate waste of the money wrung from the people by oppressive taxation and the lavish appropriations of recent Republican Congresses, which have kept taxes high while the labor that pays them is unemployed, and the products of the people's toil are depressed in price till they no longer repay the cost of production.

We demand a return to that simplicity and economy which befits a democratic government and a reduction in the number of useless offices, the salaries of which drain the substance of the people.

We denounce arbitrary interference by Federal authorities in local affairs as a violation of the Constitution of the United States and a crime against free institutions, and we especially object to government by injunction as a new and highly dangerous form of oppression, by which Federal judges, in contempt of the laws of the States and rights of citizens, become at once legislators, judges, and executioners; and we approve the bill passed at the last session of the United States Senate, and now pending in the House of Representatives, relative to contempts in Federal courts and providing for trials by jury in certain cases of contempt.

No discrimination should be indulged by the Government of the United States in favor of any of its debtors. We approve of the refusal of the Fifty-third Congress to pass the Pacific Railroad Funding bill, and denounce the efforts of the present Republican Congress to enact a similar measure.

Recognizing the just claims of deserving Union soldiers, we heartily endorse the rule of the present Commissioner of Pensions, that no name shall be arbitrarily dropped from the pension roll; and the fact of enlistment and service should be deemed conclusive evidence against disease and disability before enlistment.

We favor the admission of the Territories of New Mexico, Arizona, and Oklahoma into the Union as States, and we favor the early admission of all the Territories having the necessary population and resources to entitle them to Statehood, and while they remain Territories, we hold that the officials appointed to administer the government of any Territory, together with the District of Columbia and Alaska, should be *bona fide* residents of the Territory or district in which the duties are to be performed. The Democratic party believes in home rule, and that all public lands of the United States should be appropriated to the establishment of free homes for American citizens.

We recommend that the Territory of Alaska be granted a delegate in Congress, and that the general land and timber laws of the United States be extended to said Territory.

The Monroe doctrine as originally declared, and as interpreted by succeeding Presidents, is a permanent part of the foreign policy of the United States, and must at all times be maintained.

We extend our sympathy to the people of Cuba in their heroic struggle for liberty and independence.

We are opposed to life tenure in the public service. We favor appointments based upon merit, fixed terms of office, and such an administration of the civil service laws as will afford equal opportunities to all citizens of ascertained fitness.

We declare it to be the unwritten law of this republic, established by custom and usage of one hundred years, and sanctioned by the examples of the greatest and wisest of those who founded

and have maintained our Government, that no man should be eligible for a third term of the Presidential office.

The Federal Government should care for and improve the Mississippi River and other great waterways of the republic, so as to secure for the interior States easy and cheap transportation to tidewater. When any waterway of the republic is of sufficient importance to demand aid of the Government, such aid should be extended upon a definite plan of continuous work until permanent improvement is secured.

Confiding in the justice of our cause and the necessity of its success at the polls, we submit the foregoing declarations of principles and purposes to the considerate judgment of the American people. We invite the support of all citizens who approve them and who desire to have them made effective through legislation for the relief of the people and the restoration of the country's prosperity.

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

ADOPTED AT ST. LOUIS, JUNE 18, 1896.

The Republicans of the United States, assembled by their representatives in national convention, appealing for the popular and historical justification of their claims to the matchless achievements of thirty years of Republican rule, earnestly and confidently address themselves to the awakened intelligence, experience, and conscience of their countrymen in the following declaration of facts and principles:

For the first time since the civil war the American people have witnessed the calamitous consequences of full and unrestricted Democratic control of the Government. It has been a record of unparalleled incapacity, dishonor, and disaster. In administrative management it has ruthlessly sacrificed indispensable revenue, entailed an unceasing deficit, eked out ordinary current expenses with borrowed money, piled up the public debt by $262,000,000 in time of peace, forced an adverse balance of trade, kept a perpetual menace hanging over the redemption fund, pawned American credit to an alien syndicate, and reversed all the measures and results of successful Republican rule. In the broad effect of its policy it has precipitated panic, blighted industry and trade with prolonged depression, closed factories, reduced work and wages, halted enterprise, and crippled American production while stimulating foreign production for the American market. Every consideration of public safety and individual interest demands that the Government shall be rescued from the hands of those who have shown themselves incapable of conducting it without disaster at home and dishonor abroad, and shall

be restored to the party which for thirty years administered it with unequaled success and prosperity.

We renew and emphasize our allegiance to the policy of protection as the bulwark of American industrial independence and the foundation of American development and prosperity. This true American policy taxes foreign products and encourages home industry; it puts the burden of revenue on foreign goods; it secures the American market for the American producer; it upholds the American standard of wages for the American workingman; it puts the factory by the side of the farm and makes the American farmer less dependent on foreign demand and price; it diffuses general thrift and founds the strength of all on the strength of each. In its reasonable application it is just, fair, and impartial, equally opposed to foreign control and domestic monopoly, to sectional discrimination and individual favoritism.

We denounce the present Democratic tariff as sectional, injurious to the public credit, and destructive to business enterprise. We demand such an equitable tariff on foreign imports which come into competition with American products as will not only furnish adequate revenue for the necessary expenses of the Government, but will protect American labor from degradation to the wage level of other lands. We are not pledged to any particular schedules. The question of rates is a practical question, to be governed by the conditions of the time and of production; the ruling and uncompromising principle is the protection and development of American labor and industry. The country demands a right settlement, and then it wants rest.

We believe that the repeal of the reciprocity arrangements negotiated by the last Republican administration was a national calamity, and we demand their renewal and extension on such terms as will equalize our trade with other nations, remove the restrictions which now obstruct the sale of American products in the ports of other countries, and secure enlarged markets for the products of our farms, forests, and factories.

Protection and reciprocity are twin measures of Republican policy and go hand in hand. Democratic rule has recklessly struck down both, and both must be re-established; protection for what we produce; free admission for the necessaries of life which we do not produce; reciprocal agreements of mutual interest which gain open markets for us in return for our open market to others. Protection builds up domestic industry and trade and secures our own market for ourselves; reciprocity builds up foreign trade and finds an outlet for our surplus.

We condemn the present administration for not keeping faith with the sugar producers of this country. The Republican party favors such protection as will lead to the production on American soil of all the sugar which the American people use, and for which they pay other countries more than $100,000,000 annually.

To all our products—to those of the mine and the field as well as those of the shop and factory—to hemp, to wool, the product of the great industry of sheep husbandry, as well as to the finished woolens of the mill—we promise the most ample protection.

We favor restoring the early American policy of discriminating duties for the upbuilding of our merchant marine and the protection of our shipping in the foreign carrying trade, so that American ships—the product of American labor, employed in American shipyards, sailing under the Stars and Stripes, and manned, officered, and owned by Americans—may regain the carrying of our foreign commerce.

The Republican party is unreservedly for sound money. It caused the enactment of the law providing for the resumption of specie payments in 1879; since then every dollar has been as good as gold.

We are unalterably opposed to every measure calculated to debase our currency or impair the credit of our country. We are therefore opposed to the free coinage of silver except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world, which we pledge ourselves to promote, and until such agreement can be obtained the existing gold standard must be preserved. All our silver and paper currency must be maintained at parity with gold, and we favor all measures designed to maintain inviolate the obligations of the United States, and all our money, whether coin or paper, at the present standard, the standard of the most enlightened nations of the earth.

The veterans of the Union armies deserve and should receive fair treatment and generous recognition. Whenever practicable they should be given the preference in the matter of employment, and they are entitled to the enactment of such laws as are best calculated to secure the fulfillment of the pledges made to them in the dark days of the country's peril. We denounce the practice in the Pension Bureau, so recklessly and unjustly carried on by the present administration, of reducing pensions and arbitrarily dropping names from the rolls, as deserving the severest condemnation of the American people.

Our foreign policy should be at all times firm, vigorous, and dignified, and all our interests in the western hemisphere carefully watched and guarded. The Hawaiian Islands should be controlled by the United States, and no foreign power should be permitted to interfere with them; the Nicaragua Canal should be built, owned, and operated by the United States; and by the purchase of the Danish Islands we should secure a proper and much-needed naval station in the West Indies.

The massacres in Armenia have aroused the deep sympathy and just indignation of the American people, and we believe that the United States should exercise all the influence it can properly exert to bring those atrocities to an end. In Turkey, American residents have been exposed to the gravest dangers and American

property destroyed. There and everywhere American citizens and American property must be absolutely protected at all hazards and at any cost.

We reassert the Monroe Doctrine in its full extent, and we reaffirm the right of the United States to give the doctrine effect by responding to the appeals of any American State for friendly intervention in case of European encroachment. We have not interfered and shall not interfere with the existing possessions of any European power in this hemisphere, but those possessions must not, on any pretext, be extended. We hopefully look forward to the eventual withdrawal of the European powers from this hemisphere; to the ultimate union of all the English-speaking part of the continent by the free consent of its inhabitants.

From the hour of achieving their own independence, the people of the United States have regarded with sympathy the struggles of other American peoples to free themselves from European domination. We watch with deep and abiding interest the heroic battle of the Cuban patriots against cruelty and oppression, and our best hopes go out for the full success of their determined contest for liberty.

The government of Spain, having lost control of Cuba, and being unable to protect the property or lives of resident American citizens, or to comply with its treaty obligations, we believe that the Government of the United States should actively use its influence and good offices to restore peace and give independence to the island.

The peace and security of the republic and the maintenance of its rightful influence among the nations of the earth demand a naval power commensurate with its position and responsibility. We therefore favor the continued enlargement of the navy and a complete system of harbor and seacoast defenses.

For the protection of the equality of our American citizenship and of the wages of our workingmen against the fatal competition of low-priced labor, we demand that the immigration laws be so thoroughly enforced and so extended as to exclude from entrance to the United States those who can neither read nor write.

The Civil Service law was placed on the statute-book by the Republican party, which has always sustained it, and we renew our repeated declarations that it shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced and extended wherever practicable.

We demand that every citizen of the United States shall be allowed to cast one free and unrestricted ballot, and that such ballot shall be counted and returned as cast.

We proclaim our unqualified condemnation of the uncivilized and barbarous practices, well known as lynching or killing of human beings suspected or charged with crime without process of law.

We favor the creation of a national board of arbitration to settle

and adjust differences which may arise between employers and employed engaged in interstate commerce.

We believe in an immediate return to the free-homestead policy of the Republican party, and urge the passage by Congress of the satisfactory Free-Homestead measure which has already passed the House and is now pending in the Senate.

We favor the admission of the remaining Territories at the earliest practicable date, having due regard to the interests of the people of the Territories and of the United States. All the Federal officers appointed for the Territories should be selected from *bona fide* residents thereof, and the right of self-government should be accorded as far as practicable.

We believe the citizens of Alaska should have representation in the Congress of the United States, to the end that needful legislation may be intelligently enacted.

We sympathize with all wise and legitimate efforts to lessen and prevent the evils of intemperance and promote morality.

The Republican party is mindful of the rights and interests of women. Protection of American industries includes equal opportunities, equal pay for equal work, and protection to the home. We favor the admission of women to wider spheres of usefulness, and welcome their coöperation in rescuing the country from Democratic and Populistic mismanagement and misrule.

Such are the principles and policies of the Republican party. By these principles we will abide and these policies we will put into execution. We ask for them the considerate judgment of the American people. Confident alike in the history of our great party and in the justice of our cause, we present our platform and our candidates in the full assurance that the election will bring victory to the Republican party and prosperity to the people of the United States.

THE PEOPLE'S PARTY PLATFORM.

Adopted at St. Louis, July 24, 1896.

The People's party, assembled in national convention, reaffirms its allegiance to the principles declared by the founders of the Republic, and also to the fundamental principles of just government as enunciated in the platform of the party in 1892. We recognize that through the connivance of the present and preceding administrations the country has reached a crisis in its national life, as predicted in our declaration four years ago, and that prompt and patriotic action is the supreme duty of the hour. We realize that while we have political independence, our financial and industrial independence is yet to be attained by restoring

to our country the constitutional control and exercise of the functions necessary to a people's government, which functions have been basely surrendered by our public servants to corporate monopolies. The influence of European money changers has been more potent in shaping legislation than the voice of the American people. Executive power and patronage have been used to corrupt our legislatures and defeat the will of the people, and plutocracy has thereby been enthroned upon the ruins of democracy. To restore the government intended by the fathers, and for the welfare and prosperity of this and future generations, we demand the establishment of an economic and financial system which shall make us masters of our own affairs and independent of European control, by the adoption of the following declaration of principles:

FINANCE.

1. We demand a national money, safe and sound, issued by the General Government only, without the intervention of banks of issue, to be a full legal tender for all debts, public and private; a just, equitable and efficient means of distribution direct to the people, and through the lawful disbursements of the Government.

2. We demand the free and unrestricted coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the consent of foreign nations.

3. We demand the volume of circulating medium be speedily increased to an amount sufficient to meet the demands of the business and population of this country, and so restore the just level of prices of labor and production.

4. We denounce the sale of bonds and the increase of the public interest-bearing debt made by the present administration as unnecessary and without authority of law, and that no more bonds be issued except by specific act of Congress.

5. We demand such legislation as will prevent the demonetization of the lawful money of the United States by private contract.

6. We demand that the Government, in payment of its obligations, shall use its option as to the kind of lawful money in which they are to be paid, and we denounce the present and preceding administrations for surrendering this option to the holders of Government obligations.

7. We demand a graduated income tax, to the end that aggregated wealth shall bear its just proportion of taxation, and we regard the recent decision of the Supreme Court relative to the income tax law as a misinterpretation of the Constitution and an invasion of the rightful powers of Congress over the subject of taxation.

8. We demand that postal savings banks be established by the Government for the safe deposit of the savings of the people and to facilitate exchange.

TRANSPORTATION.

1. Transportation being a means of exchange and a public necessity, the Government should own and operate the railroads in the interest of the people and on a non-partisan basis, to the end that all may be accorded the same treatment in transportation, and that the tyranny and political power now exercised by the great railroad corporations, which result in the impairment, if not the destruction, of the political rights and personal liberties of the citizen, may be destroyed. Such ownership is to be accomplished gradually in a manner consistent with sound public policy.

2. The interest of the United States in the public highways, built with public moneys and the proceeds of extensive grants of land to the Pacific railroads, should never be alienated, mortgaged, or sold, but guarded and protected for the general welfare as provided by the laws organizing such railroads. The foreclosure of existing liens of the United States on these roads should at once follow default in the payment thereof of the debt of companies, and at the foreclosure sales of said roads the Government shall purchase the same, if it becomes necessary, to protect its interests therein; or if they can be purchased at a reasonable price, and the Government shall operate said railroads as public highways for the benefit of the whole people, and not in the interest of the few, under suitable provisions for protection of life and property, giving to all transportation interests equal privileges and equal rates for fares and freight.

3. We denounce the present infamous schemes for refunding these debts and demand that the laws now applicable thereto be executed and administered according to their true intent and spirit.

4. The telegraph, like the post-office system, being a necessity for the transmission of news, should be owned and operated by the Government in the interest of the people.

LAND.

1. The true policy demands that the national and State legislation shall be such as will ultimately enable every prudent and industrious citizen to secure a home; and therefore the land should not be monopolized for speculative purposes. All lands now held by railroads and other corporations in excess of their actual needs should by lawful means be reclaimed by the Government and held for actual settlement by settlers only, and private land monopoly as well as alien ownership should be prohibited.

2. We condemn the frauds by which the land grants to the Pacific railroad companies have, through the connivance of the Interior Department, robbed multitudes of actual *bona fide* settlers of their homes and miners of their claims; and we demand legis-

lation by Congress which will enforce the exemption of mineral lands from such grants after as well as before patent.

3. We demand that *bona fide* settlers on all public lands be granted free homes, as provided in the national homestead law, and that no exception be made in the case of Indian reservations when open for settlement, and that all lands not now patented come under this demand.

DIRECT LEGISLATION.

We favor a system of direct legislation through the initiative and referendum, under proper constitutional safeguards.

GENERAL PROPOSITIONS.

1. We demand the election of President, Vice-President, and United States Senators by direct vote of the people.

2. We tender to the patriotic people of Cuba our deepest sympathy in their heroic struggle for political freedom and independence, and we believe the time has come when the United States, the great Republic of the world, should recognize that Cuba is, and of right ought to be, a free and independent State.

3. We favor home rule in the Territories and the District of Columbia and the early admission of the Territories as States.

4. All public salaries should be made to correspond to the price of labor and its products.

5. In times of great industrial depression idle labor should be employed on public works as far as practicable.

6. The arbitrary course of the courts in assuming to imprison citizens for indirect contempt and ruling that by injunction should be prevented by proper legislation.

7. We favor just pensions for our disabled Union soldiers.

8. Believing that the election franchise and untrammeled ballot are essential to a government of, for, and by the people, the People's party condemns the wholesale system of disfranchisement adopted in some of the States as unrepublican and undemocratic, and we declare it to be the duty of the several State legislatures to take such action as will secure a full, free, and fair ballot, and an honest count.

9. While the foregoing propositions constitute the platform upon which our party stands, and for the vindication of which its organization will be maintained, we recognize that the great and pressing issue of the pending campaign, upon which the present Presidential election will turn, is the financial question, and upon this great and specific issue between the parties we cordially invite the aid and coöperation of all organizations and citizens agreeing with us upon this vital question.

THE NATIONAL SILVER PLATFORM.

ADOPTED AT ST. LOUIS, JULY 24, 1896.

The National Silver party, in convention assembled, hereby adopts the following declaration of principles:

1. The paramount issue at this time in the United States is indisputably the money question. It is between the gold standard, gold bonds and bank currency on the one side, and the bimetallic standard, no bonds and Government currency on the other.

On this issue we declare ourselves to be in favor of a distinctively American financial system. We are unalterably opposed to the single gold standard, and demand the immediate return to the constitutional standard of gold and silver by the restoration by this Government, independently of any foreign power, of the unrestricted coinage of both gold and silver into standard money at the ratio of 16 to 1, and upon terms of exact equality, as they existed prior to 1873, the silver coin to be a full legal tender equally with gold for all debts and dues, public and private; and we favor such legislation as will prevent for the future the demonetization of any kind of legal-tender money by private contract.

We hold that the power to control and regulate a paper currency is inseparable from the power to coin money, and hence that all currency intended to circulate as money should be issued and its volume controlled by the general Government only, and should be legal tender.

We are unalterably opposed to the issue by the United States of interest-bearing bonds in time of peace, and we denounce as a blunder worse than a crime the present treasury policy, concurred in by a Republican House, of plunging the country in debt by hundreds of millions in the vain attempt to maintain the gold standard by borrowing gold; and we demand the payment of all coin obligations of the United States, as provided by existing laws, in either gold or silver coin, at the option of the Government, and not at the option of the creditor.

The demonetization of silver in 1873 enormously increased the demand for gold, enhancing its purchasing power and lowering all prices measured by that standard; and since that unjust and indefensible act, the prices of American products have fallen upon an average nearly 50 per cent., carrying down with them proportionately the money value of all other forms of property. Such fall of prices has destroyed the profits of legitimate industry, injuring the producer for the benefit of the non-producer, increasing the burden of the debtor, swelling the gains of the creditor, paralyzing

the productive energies of the American people, relegating to idleness vast numbers of willing workers, sending the shadows of despair into the home of the honest toiler, filling the land with tramps and paupers, and building up colossal fortunes at the money centers. In the effort to maintain the gold standard, the country has within the last two years, in a time of profound peace and plenty, been loaded down with $262,000,000 of additional interest-bearing debt under such circumstances as to allow a syndicate of native and foreign bankers to realize a net profit of millions on a single deal. It stands confessed that the gold standard can only be upheld by so depleting our paper currency as to force the prices of our products below the European and even below the Asiatic level to enable us to sell in foreign markets, thus aggravating the very evils of which our people so bitterly complain, degrading American labor and striking at the foundations of our civilization itself. The advocates of the gold standard persistently claim that the cause of our distress is overproduction—that we have produced so much that it has made us poor—which implies that the true remedy is to close the factory, abandon the farm and throw a multitude of people out of employment, a doctrine that leaves us unnerved and disheartened and absolutely without hope for the future.

We affirm it to be unquestioned that there can be no such economic paradox as overproduction and at the same time tens of thousands of our fellow-citizens remaining half clothed and half fed, and who are piteously clamoring for the common necessities of life.

2. That over and above all other questions of policy we are in favor of restoring to the people of the United States the time-honored money of the Constitution—gold and silver, not one, but both—the money of Washington, and Hamilton, and Jefferson, and Monroe, and Jackson, and Lincoln, to the end that the American people may receive honest pay for an honest product; that the American debtor may pay his just obligations in an honest standard and not in a standard that has appreciated 100 per cent. above all the great staples of our country; and to the end further that silver standard countries may be deprived of the unjust advantage they now enjoy in the difference in exchange between gold and silver—an advantage which tariff legislation alone cannot overcome.

We therefore confidently appeal to the people of the United States to leave in abeyance for the moment all other questions, however important and even momentous they may appear, to sunder, if need be, all former party ties and affiliations and unite in one supreme effort to free themselves and their children from the domination of the money power—a power more destructive than any which has ever been fastened upon the civilized men of any race or in any age. And upon the consummation of our desires and efforts we invoke the gracious favor of divine providence.

Inasmuch as the patriotic majority of the Chicago convention

embodied in the financial plank of its platform the principles enunciated in the platform of the American Bimetallic party, promulgated at Washington, D. C., Jan. 22, 1896, and herein reiterated, which is not only the paramount, but the only real issue in the pending campaign, we therefore, recognizing that their nominees embody these patriotic principles, recommend that this convention nominate William J. Bryan of Nebraska for President and Arthur Sewall of Maine for Vice-President.

THE NATIONAL PROHIBITION PLATFORM.

ADOPTED AT PITTSBURG, PA., MAY 28, 1896.

The Prohibition party, in national convention assembled, declares its firm convictions that the manufacture, exportation, importation and sale of alcoholic beverages has produced such social, commercial, industrial and political wrongs, and is now so threatening the perpetuity of all our social and political institutions, that the suppression of the same by a national party, organized therefor, is the greatest object to be accomplished by the voters of our country; is of such importance that it, of right, ought to control the political action of all our patriotic citizens until such suppression is accomplished. The urgency of this cause demands the union without further delay of all citizens who desire the prohibition of the liquor traffic. Therefore be it

Resolved, That we favor the legal prohibition by State and national legislation of the manufacture, importation, exportation, interstate transportation and sale of alcoholic beverages.

That we declare our purpose to organize and unite all the friends of prohibition into our party, and in order to accomplish this end we deem it but right to leave every Prohibitionist the freedom of his own convictions upon all other political questions, and trust our representatives to take such action upon other political questions as the changes occasioned by prohibition and the welfare of the whole people shall demand.

THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM.

(GOLD WING.)

ADOPTED AT INDIANAPOLIS, SEPT. 3, 1896.

This convention has assembled to uphold the principles upon which depend the honor and welfare of the American people, in order that Democrats throughout the Union may unite their patriotic efforts to avert disaster from their country and ruin from their party.

The Democratic party is pledged to equal and exact justice to all men of every creed and condition; to the largest freedom of the individual consistent with good government; to the preservation of the Federal Government in its constitutional vigor, and to the support of the States in all their just rights; to economy in the public expenditures; to the maintenance of the public faith and sound money; and it is opposed to paternalism and all class legislation.

The declarations of the Chicago convention attack individual freedom, the right of private contract, the independence of the judiciary, and the authority of the President to enforce Federal laws. They advocate a reckless attempt to increase the price of silver by legislation, to the debasement of our monetary standard, and threaten unlimited issues of paper money by the Government. They abandon for Republican allies the Democratic cause of tariff reform to court the favor of protectionists to their fiscal heresy.

In view of these and other grave departures from Democratic principles, we cannot support the candidates of that convention, nor be bound by its acts. The Democratic party has survived many defeats, but could not survive a victory won in behalf of the doctrine and policy proclaimed in its name at Chicago.

The conditions, however, which make possible such utterances from a national convention are the direct result of class legislation by the Republican party. It still proclaims, as it has for years, the power and duty of government to raise and maintain prices by law, and it proposes no remedy for existing evils except oppressive and unjust taxation.

The National Democracy here convened therefore renews its declaration of faith in Democratic principles, especially as applies to the conditions of the times. Taxation—tariff, excise, or direct—is rightfully imposed only for public purposes, and not for private gain. Its amount is justly measured by public expenditures, which should be limited by scrupulous economy. The sum derived by the treasury from tariff and excise levies is affected by the state of trade and volume of consumption. The amount required by the treasury is determined by the appropriations made by Congress. The demand of the Republican party for an increase in tariff taxation has its pretext in the deficiency of revenue, which has its causes in the stagnation of trade and reduced consumption, due entirely to the loss of confidence that has followed the Populist threat of free coinage and depreciation of our money and the Republican practice of extravagant appropriations beyond the needs of good government. We arraign and condemn the Populistic conventions of Chicago and St. Louis for their coöperation with the Republican party in creating these conditions which are pleaded in justification of a heavy increase of the burdens of the people by a further resort to protection.

We therefore denounce protection and its ally, free coinage of silver, as schemes for the personal profit of a few at the expense

of the masses, and oppose the two parties which stand for these schemes as hostile to the people of the Republic whose food and shelter, comfort and prosperity are attacked by higher taxes and depreciated money. In fine, we reaffirm the historic Democratic doctrine of tariff for revenue only.

We demand that henceforth modern and liberal policies toward American shipping shall take the place of our imitation of the restricted statutes of the eighteenth century, which have been abandoned by every maritime power but the United States, and which, to the nation's humiliation, have driven American capital and enterprise to the use of alien flags and alien crews, have made the Stars and Stripes an almost unknown emblem in foreign ports, and have virtually extinguished the race of American seamen. We oppose the pretense that discriminating duties will promote shipping; that scheme is an invitation to commercial warfare upon the United States, un-American in the light of our great commercial treaties, offering no gain whatever to American shipping, while greatly increasing ocean freights on our agricultural and manufactured products.

The experience of mankind has shown that by reason of its native qualities gold is the necessary money of large affairs of commerce and business, while silver is conveniently adapted to minor transactions, and the most beneficial use of both together can be insured only by the adoption of the former as a standard of monetary measure and the maintenance of silver at a parity with gold by its limited coinage under suitable safeguards of law. Thus the largest possible enjoyment of both metals is gained with a value universally accepted throughout the world, which constitutes the only practical bimetallic currency, assuming the most stable standard, and especially the best and safest way for all who earn their livelihood by labor or the produce of husbandry. They cannot suffer when paid in the best money known to man, but are the peculiar and most defenseless victims of a debased and fluctuating currency, which offers continual profits to the money changer at their cost.

Realizing these truths, demonstrated by long public inconvenience and loss, the Democratic party, in the interests of the masses and of equal justice to all, practically established by legislation in 1834 and 1853 the gold standard of monetary measurement and likewise entirely diverted the Government from banking and currency issues.

To this long-established Democratic policy we adhere, and insist upon the maintenance of the gold standard and to the parity therewith of every dollar issued by the Government, and we are firmly opposed to the free and unlimited coinage of silver and to the compulsory purchase of silver bullion.

But we denounce also the further maintenance of the present costly patchwork system of national paper as a constant source of injury and peril. We assert the necessity of such intelligent cur-

rency reform as will confine the Government to its legitimate functions, completely separated from the banking business, and afford to all sections of our country a uniform, safe and elastic bank currency under governmental supervision, measured in volume by the needs of business.

The fidelity, patriotism and courage with which President Cleveland has fulfilled his great public trust, the high character of his administration, its wisdom and energy in the maintenance of civil order and the enforcement of the laws, its equal regard for the rights of every class and every section, its firm and dignifying conduct of foreign affairs, and its sturdy persistence in upholding the credit and honor of the nation, are fully recognized by the Democratic party, and will secure to him a place in history beside the fathers of the Republic.

We also commend the Administration for the great progress made in the reform of the public service, and we indorse its effort to extend the merit system still further. We demand that no backward step be taken, but that the reform be supported and advanced until the undemocratic spoils system of appointments shall be eradicated.

We demand strict economy in the appropriations and in the administration of the Government.

We favor arbitration for the settlement of international disputes.

We favor a liberal policy of pensions to deserving soldiers and sailors of the United States.

The Supreme Court of the United States was wisely established by the framers of our Constitution as one of the three coördinate branches of the Government. Its independence and authority to interpret the law of the land without fear or favor must be maintained.

We condemn all efforts to degrade that tribunal or impair the confidence and respect which it has deservedly held.

The Democratic party ever has maintained and ever will maintain the supremacy of the law, the independence of its judicial administration, the inviolability of contract and the obligations of all good citizens to resist every illegal trust, combination or attempt against the just rights of property and the good order of society, in which are bound up the peace and happiness of our people.

Believing these principles to be essential to the well being of the Republic, we submit them to the consideration of the American people.

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H. R. Warner

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